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Women's Writing and Writing Women in the Seventeenth Century: An Examination of the Works of Sibylle Schwarz and Susanne Elisabeth Zeidler

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Women's Writing and Writing Women in the Seventeenth Century: An Examination of the Works of Sibylle Schwarz and Susanne Elisabeth Zeidler

by

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Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my parents, Robert and Diane Ferguson and to my grandmothers Bonnie Caudle and Elfreda Hughes, whose quiet strength inspired me.

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Women's Writing and Writing Women in the Seventeenth Century: An Examination of the Works of Sibylle Schwarz and Susanne Elisabeth Zeidler

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The University of Texas at Austin, 2013

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This dissertation is primarily concerned with women's writing in the mid-seventeenth century, comprising the years from 1624 to 1686. It covers the period immediately following Martin Opitz's vernacular literary reforms in Germany and takes as its primary subject the resultant increase in female authorship. It arises out of an interest in two separate but interrelated issues. The first is out of an interest in female literary production in Germany during the seventeenth century, specifically between 1624 and 1686, dates demarcated by the publication of Martin Opitz's *Buch von der deutschen Poeterey* and the publication of Susanne Elisabeth Zeidler's collection of poetry, *Jungferlicher Zeitvertreiber*. The second is the question of women's self-concept within a patriarchal society and the discursive strategies of female authors struggling "against complex odds" to "com[e] to written voice" (Olsen 9). In order to fully explore this subject, I have chosen to focus on the work of two poets, Sibylle Schwarz (1621-1638) and Susanne Elisabeth Zeidler (1657-1706?). Writing at different stages in this period and from dissimilar social positions, the two poets offer contrasting strategies of self-representation and self-authorization. By negotiating the demanding terrain of female authorship in a period inhospitable to female learning in different ways, they illustrate the

tensions faced by female poets and the various strategies for overcoming the challenges they faced. I look first at the construction of female gender in the early modern period and the ways female writers could subtly shift the prevailing ideas and definitions to include the act of writing as an acceptable component of female identity. The analysis and comparison of the works of Schwarz and Zeidler also offers a glimpse into the changes in self-awareness and self-concept of female poets across the period.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

> Dafern aber noch etliche Gedichte die Opitz oder der anderen
> Poeten einer ausgehn lassen/ […] sollte es mich eine sonderbahre Frewde seyn/
> wen ich dieselben lesen mögte/ weil ich nichts liebers wünsche/
> als nur solche Sachen zu lesen.
> -Sibylle Schwarz, letter to Samuel Gerlach dated April 10, 1637

> [Ich] muß aber dakegen [sic] bekennen/ daß die Poesey eine Ursacherin
> vieles guhten bey mir gewesen.
> -Sibylle Schwarz, letter to Samuel Gerlach dated July 24, 1637

Could a woman have written the plays of Shakespeare? In the eighty years since Virginia Woolf raised that question and answered it with an emphatic no, a great deal of scholarship has been done on the lives and works of early modern women. In this dissertation, I explore the lives of two women, Sibylle Schwarz (1621 – 1638) and Susanne Elisabeth Zeidler (1657 – 1706?), who wrote German poetry in the early modern period. My interest in this topic arose from a chance discovery of a few of Sibylle Schwarz's sonnets, which were included in the Reclam collection of German Baroque poetry. I was struck by the power of her writing, an impression that only increased when I learned that the poems in question had been composed when she was only sixteen or seventeen, less than a year before her death in July 1638. A young German woman writing Petrarchan love sonnets stood in stark contrast to the assumption that early modern women primarily wrote religious devotional works, or those related to the

domestic sphere. While that statement is true for many of the women writing in the early modern period, there were clearly exceptions and I wanted to discover more about Sibylle Schwarz and her motivations, as well as what made the erudition clearly in evidence in her writing possible. I went on to discover a collection of over 105 of her poems, published by her teacher and mentor, M. Samuel Gerlach, an acquaintance of Martin Opitz, one of the most significant figures in the history of early modern vernacular poetry in Germany. This was the beginning of my research into the women writing in the early modern period. In the course of this research, I encountered the work of the scholar Cornelia Niekus Moore and the collection of poems by Susanne Elisabeth Zeidler she edited and republished in 2000. I thus discovered another young woman who wrote a collection of poems that did not fit within the standard assumption of early modern women's poetry. I chose to focus on an in-depth study of the work of these two women, as a way to gain insights into the wider context of women's writing in the early modern period I might not have gained by focusing on only one of them. I also chose to focus on these two, rather than a larger number of women, because of the similarities between their collections and because we had the benefit of printed collections by women whose work did not fit within the standard paradigm of writing by early modern women.

In stating that Shakespeare's fictional sister could not have achieved what he did because of her gender, Woolf was not in the first instance attempting to describe the difficulties faced by early modern women, but rather used this example to shed light on the difficulties still faced by women writers in the early twentieth century. She identified and blamed patriarchal constructs coupled with the lack of material support for the paucity of female writers in the early modern period. She argued that women should be given adequate support, both financial and material, to allow them to contribute to the field of writing. They not only needed adequate financial support to have the freedom to

write, but also a "room of [their] own," where they could write undisturbed. Both Schwarz and Zeidler wrote at a time when it was unusual for a middle class[1] woman in Germany to have the level of education necessary to read and write, let alone compose learned poetry, yet both wrote and published collections of poems.

Although only 36 years separate the publication of their works in 1650 and 1686, Schwarz and Zeidler were part of two very different generations of women writing in this period. Schwarz was part of the first generation of women inspired by the vernacular literary reform movement in Germany, which strove to create a learned literary vernacular tradition to raise the German language to a level already met by its neighbors. Zeidler wrote at the end of the seventeenth century, a contemporary of such writers as Margaretha Susanna von Kuntsch and the group of relatives and friends with whom she exchanged poems in and around the town of Altenburg in the late seventeenth century. In contrast to Schwarz, Zeidler was writing at a time when the figure of the writing woman had become a more common feature, and she reacted to the concomitant growing resistance on the part of male writers to a perceived incursion into what had been their domain when she defended herself as a writer.

In *A Room of One's Own*, Woolf imagined a fictional "Judith Shakespeare" and argued that she would "[kill] herself one winter's night" because of her inability to overcome the rigid social milieu into which she had been born (46-48). Woolf argued that women needed an "independent income" and their own space, i.e. freedom from the exigencies of daily life, in order to realize their creative potential. She reasoned that Shakespeare's fictional sister, had she been afforded the same freedom of movement and

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[1] I use the term "middle class" or "bourgeois" to refer to people who are neither members of the nobility nor peasants. This can encompass the learned elite in the seventeenth century, as well as artisans, merchants and other professions living and working in the cities or towns of the period.

ability to work as her "brother," may well have been able to create similar texts. Perhaps "Judith Shakespeare," like Schwarz and Zeidler, would have profited from her brother's connections and his own support of her writing.

Our understanding of the lives of early modern women, of their roles in the creation of culture, of the "'objective necessities' of bourgeois economic order" (Steinbrügge *The Moral Sex* 4) that so often circumscribed their ability to lead the lives which they would perhaps have chosen for themselves, has dramatically increased in the past fifty years. Scholars in the fields of history, art history, psychology, sociology, anthropology, and literary and cultural studies have contributed to the vast and richly textured history of early modern women. This work has not only impacted our understanding of the lives of early modern women, but a fuller and deeper understanding of their lives has also provided insight into the "objective necessities" that limited the lives of other disadvantaged groups. Recent work in gender studies and the study of masculinities has demonstrated that, to paraphrase de Beauvoir's famous dictum, one is neither born a man nor a woman. Gender norms are prescriptive for both, not only for women, and culturally constitutive of what it means to be either a man or be a woman (Edwards 89). While being female is defined biologically, what is considered feminine is a culturally-based construct that differs between cultures and across time periods. In order to fully analyze writing by women in the early modern period, it is necessary to understand both the material limitations faced by women, as well as the physical and psychological limitations enforced by the encoded notions of gender and what is or is not appropriate for women.

Woolf's question coincided by chance with a change in direction in historical study that would ultimately invigorate the study of pre-modern culture and pave the way for an examination of the lives of early modern women. In 1929, the year Woolf

published *A Room of One's Own*, Marc Bloch and Lucien Febvre founded a new journal, *Annales d'Histoire Economique et Sociale* (The Annals of Economic and Social History), meant to "act as a forum for a new kind of history" (Burke, "Introduction" x). The name of the journal inspired the name given to Bloch, Febvre and their fellow historians, who became known as the "Annales School." The French Annales-school historians emphasized the "*longue durée*" (long duration) of history and gave priority to the examination of social, economic and cultural structures rather than individual events (Wiesner 1). By "long duration" Bloch and Febvre meant not only to expand the number of years to be examined by the historian, but also to widen the lens to take in as much information as possible about all aspects of a culture, and to look especially at those institutions that remained relatively constant across longer spans of time. Focusing on the "long duration" enabled an examination of the broader cultural institutions and social structures that supported a given society and did not readily change with a new ruler or outbreak of war. This was in contrast to events-driven historiography that focused on the lives of "great men" and examined specific historical moments in the context of the events that led up to them and those that followed. As Peter Burke noted in the preface to *The Historian's Craft*, "Febvre was opposed to the study of political events as an end in themselves, without relating them to their economic, social or cultural context. Indeed, he was opposed to the study of any aspect of human behavior in isolation, arguing that there was no such thing as the history of philosophy, or literary history, or even economic history" (Burke, "Introduction" x).The new historiography was a significant step in developing a deeper understanding of women's lives in different historical periods because it combined techniques and methods from the fields of sociology, anthropology, and economics with traditional historiography to flesh out the experiences of people at all

levels of society, and also to emphasize the continuities of daily life for the vast majority over against the division into historical periods as defined by traditional historians.

This innovation opened the door to a better understanding of women's lives, even if this was not the initial intention of the authors. By relating events to their "economic, social or cultural context" Annales-school historians began to take as their subject all areas of society. It also allowed for a deeper understanding of all marginalized groups, and the lives of those not in positions of power. As positive as this change was, it also drew criticism. Taken to extremes, the emphasis on economic, social and cultural context as well as the lives of common people and the continuities in their existence can lead to a disregard for the political events which formed the object of traditional historiography. In a 1987 critique of the new history and new historicisms, Gertrude Himmelfarb illustrated this problem by mentioning the example of a young historian on the "cutting edge" of his craft, who focused on the lives of people in a small New England town at the end of the 1700s. She writes that,

> [h]e conceded that from his themes and sources – parish registers, tax rolls, census reports, legal records, polling lists, land titles – he could not 'get to,' as he said, the founding of the United States. But he denied that this was the crucial event I took it to be. My rebuttal – that even ordinary people … had been profoundly affected in the most ordinary aspects of their lives … - seemed to him naïve and old-fashioned (Himmelfarb 13-14).

However, and significantly for the purposes of this dissertation, the Annales School helped open the door to the study of women's history by "redefining the subject matter of history away from the tyranny of 'the event' and toward a history of daily life" (Whitehead ix).

Fernand Braudel, a student of Bloch and Febvre and the definitive voice of the second generation of Annales-school historians, advocated the approach promoted by Febvre, referring to it as "total history" (Burke, "Introduction" x). Many of the early works by historians of the Annales School focused on pre-modern society and culture, as Braudel likewise did in his magnum opus first published in 1949[2], *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*. In it, he synthesized the work of previous historians, economists, archaeologists and anthropologists to construct a history of the entire region, noting his firm conviction in "the unity and coherence of the Mediterranean region" in which "the Turkish Mediterranean lived and breathed with the same rhythms as the Christian, … [and] the whole sea shared a common destiny … with identical problems and general trends if not identical consequences" (Braudel 14).

The scope of this work inspired a number of historians, most notably for this dissertation Olwen Hufton (1995), whose monumental treatise on the lives of women in Europe from 1500-1800 concerns "the interaction between beliefs about what was appropriate to men and to women and what occurred in the practices of everyday life" (Hufton 7). Hufton's work is significant for depicting women's lives across Western Europe and throughout a 300-year span, giving the scholar a good sense of both the continuities throughout that period of time, as well as the changes and differences within it. Hufton does not follow Braudel's work blindly, noting that it is "insufficiently nuanced" and "presented an abbreviated version of economic man" (Hufton 8). However, as is also true of her own work, "an acquaintance with the world he described is essential to an understanding of the social relationships and the conditions of existence in the early

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2 This is coincidentally the same year Simone de Beauvoir published *The Second Sex*, one of the key early texts in the study of the lives of women.

modern period, because it accentuates the fundamental material and physical constraints which impeded change over a long period of time (*la longue durée*)" (Hufton 8).

The emphasis on social history present in Annales-school historiography was also present in the New Social History, which developed in the United States out of the turbulences of the Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s (Wiesner 2). "New History" and the development of cultural history and social history did not begin at this point, but can be traced to Jacob Burckhardt's 1860 treatise on the culture and art of the Renaissance in Italy. Further impetus in the United States was received in 1912 in James Harvey Robinson's proclamation of the "New History" and his "plea for a history of the 'common man,' which would dispense with the 'trifling details' of dynasties and wars and utilize the findings of 'anthropologists, economists, psychologists, and sociologists'" (Himmelfarb 1). Like the French Annales School, New Social History "often borrowed techniques developed in other social sciences, such as quantitative analysis from economics or the interpretation of symbols from anthropology" (Wiesner 1). One aspect of New Social History was an increased emphasis on political uses of history, and particularly on a desire to study the history of oppressions of all kinds (racial, gender, national) in an effort to redress past wrongs and "in support of demands for change in present institutions and power structures" (Wiesner 2). This change accompanied the "second wave" of feminism, which began in the late 1960s. Wiesner notes that this second wave of feminism "paralleled a similar rise of interest in women's history which accompanied the first wave of feminism" (Wiesner 2).

The field of women's history thus "began … as a sub-field of social history" (Wiesner 2). The writing of women's history has informed and in turn been informed by work in literary studies, cultural studies and gender studies, as well as feminist literary theory. This has resulted in a reworking and reimagining of literary and historical periods

as the roles of women are defined within them and has yielded a profoundly deeper understanding of both the challenges faced by women wishing to write in the early modern period, and the spaces for a creative life carved out by women within the social constraints placed upon them. If Arcangela Tarabotti "describes the enormous obstacles women encountered whenever they attempted to engage in the quintessential humanist task of giving ideas public expression through writing" (Ferguson, Quilligan and Vickers xv), that she and so many others wrote and were published in this period demonstrates that the difficulties, though considerable, were not insurmountable. The question that then arises is how it was possible for individual women to overcome the difficulties with which they were presented, and how that knowledge informs and redefines our understanding of the early modern period and women's place within it.

The present dissertation is occupied with the years 1624 to 1686. This period begins immediately following Martin Opitz's vernacular literary reforms in Germany[3] and ends with the year Susanne Elisabeth Zeidler published her collection of poems entitled *Jungferlicher Zeitvertreiber* [Maiden's Pastime]. It deals with the blossoming of a German vernacular poetic tradition inspired by Opitz and the resultant increase in female authorship. This dissertation builds upon the careful work of historians following in the Annales-school tradition[4] who depicted the lives of early modern women in

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3 For the sake of simplicity, I use the term "Germany" to refer to the various kingdoms and principalities in central northern Europe where German was the predominant vernacular language during the period under consideration, 1624 – 1700 CE.

4 Georges Duby and Michèle Perrot edited a five-volume history of women in the west, originally published in Italian in 1990. The third volume, which takes the early modern period as its subject, was edited by Arlette Farge and Natalie Zemon Davis and includes contributions by Olwen Hufton, Natalie Zemon Davis, Rebekka Habermas and Heide Wunder, among many others. It is an excellent overview, especially when combined with the work of Olwen Hufton, Merry Wiesner and Heide Wunder. Taken together, these works form a necessary foundation for a scholar interested in the lives of women in the

Europe. Drawing simultaneously upon the methodology of microhistory, especially as demonstrated by Natalie Zemon Davis, it places the lives of two early modern women authors within that larger context, and more specifically within their historical and geographical context as writers in Greifswald and Fienstedt, respectively. Giovanni Levi writes, "[t]he unifying principle of all microhistorical research is the belief that microscopic observation will reveal factors previously unobserved" (Levi 101). Thus, it is my contention that the intense focus on the writings of two female seventeenth-century, German-speaking authors will shed light on the larger questions of women as writers in the seventeenth century, specifically within the areas known at the time as the Holy Roman Empire, where the German language was the primary vernacular language. This is not to argue that the experiences of only two women can be considered paradigmatic for all German-language female authors of this period. As Olwen Hufton notes, "[t]o read and interpret a text like a lawsuit or a set of memoirs can shed immense light on how ideas on gender influenced an individual life or a particular event in the field of micro-history, but at the level of broader generalization such an exercise poses problems for the historian" (Hufton 6). In spite of these difficulties, an examination and comparison of their lives and a close reading, analysis and comparison of their works, adds materially to the rich tapestry of information concerning women and gender in early modern Germany.

This period and the production of writing by women within it cannot be studied adequately without a consideration of the historical context, as it has been established by recent scholarship. That historical context also needs to be informed by our theoretical

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early modern period. A. Farge, *Geschichte der Frauen: Frühe Neuzeit* (Zweitausendeins, 2006), O.H. Hufton, *The Prospect before Her: A History of Women in Western Europe 1500-1800* (Alfred Knopf, 1996), Wiesner, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*, Heide Wunder, *He is the Sun, She is the Moon: Women in Early Modern Germany* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998).

understanding of the production of writing by women in general and in the period we are examining. Just as women's history arose "as a subfield of social history" and drew on the "second wave" of feminism arising out of the Civil Rights movement in the 1960s in the United States (Wiesner 1-2), the development of feminism in the U.S. was paralleled by a feminist movement in Europe that gained strength in 1968. The resultant increase in interest in the female condition led to a tradition of feminist literary theory which focuses on gender constructs, female identity, and the unconscious.

Two central figures in the development of modern feminist literary theory are Virginia Woolf (1882-1941) and Simone de Beauvoir (1908-1986). Woolf has been called the "founding mother of the contemporary debate" (Eagleton 1). Not only did she explore a female aesthetic in her writing (Showalter 216), but she wrote specifically about the material needs of women writers, pre-figuring Marxist, psychoanalytic and post-structuralist feminist criticism (Eagleton 1). In *A Literature of Their Own: British Women Novelists from Brontë to Lessing*, first published in 1977, Elaine Showalter "develops Woolf's interest in a tradition of women authors" (Eagleton 1). Showalter named the study of women's writing "gynocriticism" and claims in 2009 that "gynocriticism … has developed to offer a coherent narrative of women's literary history" (Showalter xix). Although gynocriticism encompasses a wide number of topics and foci, for the purpose of this dissertation the most salient aspect is that of the rediscovery of works by female writers, and the ways in which their writing provides information about the lives of the authors.

Toril Moi, writing in 1985, identifies Showalter's work as exemplifying "Anglo-American Criticism" (Eagleton 37), which she criticizes because it "does not possess the necessary theoretical apparatus" (Eagleton 8). Moi writes that "Anglo-American feminist critics have been mostly indifferent or even hostile towards literary theory" (Moi

Sexual/Textual Politics 69). Mary Eagleton notes that it is "an injustice to dismiss [Showalter] as a mere anti-theorist" (Eagleton 7). Peter Barry in turn notes that a strict delineation between "anti-theoretical" Anglo-American critics and "theoretical" French feminist critics is an oversimplification and ignores the differences between British and U.S. critics (Barry 123).

The development of gynocriticism as envisioned by Showalter and its concomitant concern with "the specificity of women's writing … tradition of women authors and … exploration of women's culture" is a central component of this dissertation. I analyze the writing produced by Schwarz and Zeidler as examples of work produced by women at a specific point in history, as a necessary though meager source of facts about each author's life, and for evidence of the means by which each woman discursively subverts prevailing gender norms and constructs in such a way as to legitimize herself as a writer.

In 1991, Mary Eagleton expressed the need to examine the history of women's writing and develop a theoretical model that would call into question the static categories of "man" and "woman." She argued that these perpetuate oppression by their continued existence, but that "[n]evertheless, … feminism needs to 'work out some way to think both women and 'woman'' (Eagleton 16) [5]. This dissertation attempts in small part to capture the lives of two specific women, but also to reconstruct the notion of "woman" as expressed in the writings of seventeenth century female authors.

Both Woolf and Beauvoir inform notions of difference and gender constructs. Lena Lindhoff calls Woolf the "mother" of "theories of difference" and notes that poststructuralist feminist critics regard her as a precursor of the rationalist and

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5 She is quoting Mary Poovey in "Feminism and Deconstruction," *Feminist Studies* 14.1 (1988): 53.

subjectivist criticism that became of central importance in the 1980s (Lindhoff 29-30). Simone de Beauvoir, in her attempt to "describe the condition of women in general" (Beauvoir viii), made the startling pronouncement that "[o]ne is not born, but rather becomes, a woman…; it is civilization as a whole that produces this creature... which is described as feminine" (Beauvoir 267). This statement has led, directly and indirectly, to a variety of approaches in feminist theoretical criticism, and has been particularly fruitful in the application of psychoanalytic, postmodern and deconstructivist feminist theories. One group that developed this insight further are gender theorists, such as Judith Butler. Drawing on the fact that Beauvoir calls the idea of a static, "natural" woman, divorced from cultural context, into question, Butler calls all prevailing gender categories and their normative and prescriptive function into question. I will look first at the construction of female gender in the early modern period and the ways female writers could subtly shift the prevailing ideas and definitions to include the act of writing as an acceptable component of female identity.

A second vital idea from Beauvoir is the concept of woman as the Other, which she developed in the course of writing *The Second Sex* (Beauvoir xxi - xxiii), although she writes that the idea of duality, of Self and Other, is "primordial" (xxi). By this, Beauvoir means that woman is that over and against which man defines himself. Her explicit statement of ideas readily present in the writings of male authors led to a development of theories of difference and a full body of literature concerned with examining the ways in which woman, the Other, is depicted in literature and art, as well as the ways in which Man defines himself over and against Woman (Lindhoff 29-30). Toril Moi writes that in Beauvoir "[l]iterature is privileged over non-fiction or academic writing (what she [de Beauvoir] calls 'information') because it allows us to see the world from the point of view of the other without ceasing to be ourselves" (Moi "The

Adventure of Reading" 134). Moi thus posits literature as a potential bridge to bring Self and Other into contact through mutual understanding.

The third theoretical question underpinning this dissertation is that of woman's voice and women's voices, especially as raised by Tillie Olsen in her seminal work, *Silences*. She explores the silences caused by women striving "against complex odds" to "com[e] to written voice" and yet failing to do so (Olsen 9). Olsen also explores the discursive strategies of those women who do succeed. Olsen's work is important to understanding the notion of female subjectivity and feminine discursive strategies. Lynette McGrath drew on Olsen's work in her exploration of female subjectivity and poetry in early modern England.

Seventeenth-century poets believed that the role of the poet, and thus also the role of fictional literature, in keeping with the well-known precept of Horace, was both to instruct and delight or entertain (*prodesse et delectare*). Anyone defining themselves as a poet, whether male or female, thus believed that they should delight, by creating aesthetically pleasing, ingenious texts, and that they should also instruct, and through this instruction, provide a guide to good, moral living. They believed that they would be performing their duty to society by modeling appropriate thought and behavior in the context of fictional literature. In Germany the duties of the poet were expanded by a third precept, to bring glory to God.[6] The seventeenth-century German poet was thus also tasked with demonstrating virtue in a specifically religious context. Precisely because virtue (*Tugend*) was also considered a defining characteristic of women in this period, this aspect allowed Schwarz and Zeidler to leverage normative gender constructs to situate themselves as ideal poets. They argued, in other words, that as women, and thus

6 Anna Linton discusses this topic at length in Chapter 2 of *Poetry and Parental Bereavement in Early Modern Lutheran Germany*.

the quintessential examples of virtuous people, they were paradigmatic examples of a true poet.

Sibylle Schwarz, who was strongly influenced by the literary reformer Martin Opitz, wrote in the 1630s and Susanne Elisabeth Zeidler wrote in the 1670s and 1680s. In most traditional studies of German literature, these periods correspond to the "early" and "high" Baroque. The "high" Baroque is generally seen as ending ca. 1680, followed by a period of "dissolution" that led to the turn-of-the-century and the advent of pre-Enlightenment and Enlightenment thought in the early eighteenth century (Fischetti 20). The term "Baroque" refers to the third era of the larger time-period known as early modern German literature (ca. 1450 – 1750), which can be divided into Renaissance, Reformation and Baroque. While the term itself has had a somewhat problematic history, particularly in the context of German literature, it is nonetheless the standard term for the period of literature under consideration (Garber 3 – 4).

Opitz' *Buch von der Deutschen Poeterey* was the first complete poetics concerned with the German language which was itself written in the vernacular (Fischetti 26). Although a number of poetics followed, Opitz's work remained the most popular and influential German vernacular poetics throughout the Baroque period (Fischetti 20). This work was not only paradigmatic for later poetics, but also served as model and inspiration for male and female poets in the period. Two female poets, Sibylle Schwarz and Dorothea Eleonore von Rosenthal, both specifically mention his importance for German vernacular poetry. Rosenthal notes that while Opitz began the literary reform, Zesen's adoption of the dactyl as a meter allowed German verse to truly reach the level of quality of other vernacular literatures (Rosenthal n.pag.). While this does not at first glance appear to be complimentary to Opitz, Zesen's innovation would not have been possible

without Opitz first providing the foundation. Opitz himself claimed that the German language was best-suited to alternating meters, such as the iamb and trochee.

Schwarz's brief allusions to Opitz reveal the extent to which he served as an inspiration for her own poetic endeavors. In the first of three letters to Gerlach included in the text, she indicates that she preferred reading poetry, and particularly that by Opitz, above all else.

> Dafern aber noch etliche gedichte die Opitz oder der andern poeten einer ausgehn lassen/ bey den Hn. M.S. Gerl. anzutreffen/ solte es mich eine sonderbahre Frewde seyn/ wen ich dieselben lesen mögte/ weil ich nichts liebers wünsche/ als nur solche Sachen zu lesen; (Schwarz I: A1r).

The only contemporary German male poets mentioned by Schwarz are Martin Opitz, mentioned a number of times throughout her work, and August Buchner, mentioned only once. Opitz had the strongest influence on her, but she was clearly familiar with Buchner's work even prior to its publication.

This letter also indicates how dependent she was for help from others in order to gain access to the literature she desired to read. In the second letter, she writes that she has decided to translate poems by the Dutch writer Jacob Cats (1577-1660), whose entire opus had been sent to her by her brother, Christian (Schwarz I: 3). Schwarz attempted to immerse herself in the work of contemporaries, and worked with these as her models.

Schwarz's final letter to Gerlach indicates that she wrote a poem celebrating the arrival of Opitz, although it was one of her earliest pieces and she requests that Gerlach not allow others to see it.

> Demnach mir aber noch unvergessen/ das Ich vor diesem dem Hn. M. etliche sehr schlechte/ und fast des nahmens nicht würdige Reime/ welche meine ersten gewesen/ auff H. M. Z. fleissigstes suchen/ zugesandt/ unter welchen eins auff M.

> Opitzen ankunfft seyn wird/ geschiehet an den Hn. M. mein Ehrenfleissiges Bitten/ Er wolle doch dieselbe in keine frembde Augen kommen lassen/ weil mich schier selbst/ wen ich sie von Ohngefehr wieder sehe/ dafür eckelt (Schwarz I: 5).

This wish seems to have been granted, because the poem mentioned does not appear in the collection, although there are several other poems dated as early as 1633, when the poet was only twelve. One of these was to celebrate the arrival of another notable person in Greifswald to study at the university there, "Als J.F.G. vohn Croja und Arschott zu Greiffswald/ Studierens halben/ angelanget" (Schwarz II: J3r).

Opitz not only provided a complete poetics for the German language, he also provided models for students to follow. This opened the door to those with the desire to write poetry who did not have access to a university education and the extensive training in classical poetics and rhetoric this would have afforded. It also led to a proliferation of German-language texts, and thus even more models for the aspiring poet. There was also an element of cultural pride in writing in the vernacular language, and in having a vernacular poetic aesthetic able to rival that of other literatures. Both Schwarz and Rosenthal make reference to the importance of this for Germany and the German-speaking people. Schwarz writes that Opitz would be "first in the list of those who love art and virtue" for his work on behalf of the German language:

> Mein Opitz (dem das Lob gebühret/
> Das Teutschlandt/ seiner Sprachen Pracht
> Und edlen Leyer halben führet /
> Weil Er den anfang hat gemacht)
> Wird billig oben an geschrieben
> Bey den/ die Kunst und Tugend lieben (I, 10).

This dissertation examines two separate but interrelated issues, and adds to the body of scholarship in each area. The first is the extent of female literary production in Germany during the seventeenth century. The second is the question of women's self-concept within a patriarchal society and the discursive strategies of female authors struggling "against complex odds" to "com[e] to written voice" (Olsen 9). Women's literary theory informs the exploration of this subject, and specifically the questions raised by gynocritics about the history of women's writings, Marxist and materialist questions of hegemonic culture as well as the minimum of social and financial support necessary to provide the security needed for creativity to flourish. Writing at different stages in the period under discussion and from dissimilar social positions, Schwarz and Zeidler offer contrasting strategies of self-representation and self-authorization. By negotiating the demanding terrain of female authorship in a period inhospitable to female learning in such different ways, they illustrate the tensions faced by female poets and the various strategies for overcoming the challenges they faced. As Lynette McGrath wrote concerning female writers in England in the same period, "these texts represent prodigious feats of writerly agency" (15).

In order to situate the work of Schwarz and Zeidler historically, the second chapter of this dissertation focuses on the background against and within which they wrote. It begins with an exposition of women's lives in the early modern period. This is followed by a brief overview of German Baroque poetry, the tradition within which they were writing. Finally, Chapter Two concludes with a brief overview of writing by women in the seventeenth century.

Chapters Three, Four and Five analyze and compare the works of Schwarz and Zeidler. In Chapter Three I seek to answer how Schwarz and Zeidler approached the question of why women should be permitted to write. It explores their reasons for

writing, including the role of desire in the creation of culture, and their self-authorization strategies. In Chapter Four I examine the poets within their social context and as they encounter the Other in the areas of romantic love and friendship. This section includes an examination of the occasional poems produced by Schwarz and Zeidler. Chapter Five deals with the depiction of death and loss and what this reveals about their social milieu and the lives of the poets themselves.

Brief mention should be made at this point of the editions used for Schwarz and Zeidler's poems as well as the pagination I use for ease of reference. In 1980 Helmut Ziefle published a facsimile edition of the two volumes of Schwarz's poems with the title *Deutsche Poëtische Gedichte: Faksimiledruck nach der Ausgabe von 1650 Herausgegeben und mit einem Nachwort von Helmut W. Ziefle*. Each volume is preceded by a dedicatory or introductory poem, which is an indication of the time-frame during which Gerlach worked on the publication. Further evidence about the precise time-period when Gerlach was putting together the publication can be derived by the dating of the dedicatory poems at the beginning of each volume. The date given at the end of the dedicatory poem to Queen Christina of Sweden, which introduces the first volume, is July 18, 1650. The date given in the "Klinggedicht" (sonnet) which introduces the second volume is "7. Herbstm. [sic]dises 1650sten Jahres," i.e. September 7, 1650. The difference in dates indicates the time needed after the publication of the first volume to complete and prepare the second volume.

The second volume begins with the prose eclogue "Faunus' and ends with "Ein Lied. gegen Ihren Seel: Abschied," one of two poems written by Schwarz to accompany her own death, followed by a separate section containing twelve incomplete poems, the last of which is "Vohn wahrer Freundschafft." This is followed by an appendix, "Sibyllen Schwärzin Sonneten Oder Klinggedichte Anstat eines Anhangs zugeschriben etc. Herrn

M. Peter Vanselauen etc. Seinen alten/ sunders vertrauten/ und liebwehrtesten Brüderlichen Freund/ in einem Klinggedicht vohn M. Samuel Gerlach.“ and finally the „Nachschrift an den Leser,” in which Gerlach provides notes on the mistakes that crept into the publication and how these should be corrected. The first volume begins with the title page and dedicatory poems. I follow the pagination used in the text. At the beginning of the first volume and in the entirety of the second volume, no specific page numbers are provided. Rather, each folio sheet is identified by a letter and number. As only the front of a given page would have any identification, I refer to the folio letters (a, b) followed by Arabic numerals indicating the particular sheet (1-4), and then r (*recto*) for the front of the page or v (*verso*) for the back. For example, the dedicatory poem by Michael Albinus, “Nahmens=Wechsel. Ist zwar’n Lybes=Licht” is on the front of the first page of the second folio (b), which I indicate as “I: b1r.” The rest of volume one is paginated, and so I refer to each page by the Roman numeral I, indicating the first volume, and then the Arabic numeral of the page itself. For example, “Ein Gesang wider den Neid” begins on page 6 of the first volume, which is designated as “I: 6.” The second volume contains only the folio markings, so I refer to the folios with a capital letter (following the practice in the work itself) and then a number to indicate the sheet (1-4) of that particular folio, followed by r (*recto*) or v (*verso*), indicating the side of the page (front or back) to which I refer. The “Nachschrift an den Leser” contains neither folio markings nor pagination. It begins with):(on the bottom of the first page, as does the section of the second volume preceding the first work by Schwarz. When referring to this section, I will simply refer to the title “Nachschrift” in order to avoid confusion with the first folio of the second volume, which will be identified using the symbol):(and the Arabic numeral for each specific sheet with *recto* and *verso*. The “Nachschrift” contains Gerlach’s brief description of the publication of the work and the errata. For example, the poem “Auff

Herrn N. Schöners/ etc. Kinds Absterben“ (Schwarz I: 50) should read “Auff Herrn J. Schöners/ etc. Kinds Absterben” (Schwarz, “Nachschrift“). When using text referred to in the list of errata in the dissertation, I make the correction indicated. The final section of the book is an afterword by Helmut Ziefle. These pages are marked with an asterisk and I follow the pagination as indicated. Thus, the afterword begins on page 7*.

In Schwarz’s work, because the poems were printed without any reference to chronology or other order, it is sometimes difficult to determine when an individual poem was written, unless there is some indication from external circumstances. Certain poems include a date, particularly in the case of poems written for specific occasions, such as a wedding, but most poems are undated. It is possible the poems included in the first volume were collected in 1637 and early 1638, when she and Gerlach were discussing a possible publication. Gerlach writes in the “Vohrrede” to the second volume that the poems for the first volume were received and prepared a considerable amount of time before those of the second volume.

> Davohn wisse, daß man die Gedichte des Ersten Teils schon eine geraume Zeit vohrher/ ehe man die Andere erhalten/ abgeschriben und verfertiget gehabt hat/ die hernach nicht wider ümgeschriben werden können (Schwarz II:):(4r).

The second volume contains a larger number of occasional poems and works dedicated to people outside the family. These works may have been gathered by friends and family and sent to Gerlach when he was putting together the publication. This would explain why the poem to a death could be included in the first volume while the poem celebrating the marriage of that person might appear in the second volume. In the “Nachwort,” Gerlach apologizes for the confusion, but attributes it to a lack of time on his part. Ziefle attempted to determine when different poems were written in order to get a picture of the artist’s development over time. I follow Ziefle’s dating of the poems.

For the poems published by Zeidler in the 1686 edition of her "*Jungferlicher Zeitvertreiber*" I use the reprint by Cornelia Niekus Moore in 2000. This text begins with a foreword by Niekus Moore which is paginated using uppercase Roman numerals. The section containing the reprint of the 1686 edition is paginated using Arabic numerals. The individual poems are numbered using uppercase Roman numerals. For example, the section in which Niekus Moore introduces the text by providing historical background concerning pastors and their families begins on page VI of the text. The poem "An ihren Bruder/ Johann Gottfried Zeidlern/ als er zum Poeten gekrönet worden/ 1678." is on page 32 and is poem III. Niekus Moore also provides the original pagination, but I use the pagination in her edition.

CHAPTER 2: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND FORSCHUNGSBERICHT

> Women, then, have not had a dog's chance of writing poetry.
> That is why I have laid so much stress on money and a room of one's own.
> - Virginia Woolf, *A Room of One's Own*

This chapter explores the historical context in which Schwarz and Zeidler created and wrote. In illustrating this context, it draws on a survey of the literature concerning women's lives, women's writing, and early modern poetry written in the German language. As noted in the previous chapter, Woman, the Other, is that against which Man has historically defined himself. This chapter also explores the way a male poet defined himself in seventeenth-century Germany in order to demonstrate the similarities and differences in how Schwarz and Zeidler defined themselves as poets. Setting the male poet as the Other, they defined themselves in relation to that Other and created the discursive space necessary to allow themselves to participate in the creation of poetry and thus in the creation of culture.

WOMEN'S LIVES IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Education and Literacy

It was in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, with exposure to the writings of Boccaccio and Agrippa von Nettesheim, among others, as well as the growing regard for learned women such as Caritas Pirckheimer and the Dutch poet and scholar Anna Maria van Schurmann, that the figure of the "learned woman" first acquired a

focused cultural profile in Germany. Humanist discourses celebrated and legitimized, albeit somewhat ambiguously, women's capacity for "virile" achievement. Following traditions begun in fourteenth-century Italy and continued in Italy, France, England and the Netherlands, German authors wrote a number of tracts discussing the relative merits of educating women as well as catalogues of illustrious women. While many cited examples from Greek and Roman classical literature and well-known examples from abroad, some catalogues also listed women living contemporaneously in Germany. These humanist discourses can be traced to Giovanni Boccaccio and the later *Querelle des Femmes*, an early modern debate concerning the nature of woman, which developed in France in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Boccaccio's *De mulieribus claris* served as the paradigmatic catalogue for later writers. Completed in approximately 1361-62, it was a collection of 106 biographies of famous women, beginning with Eve and including Cleopatra, Julia (daughter of Julius Caesar), and the Greek poet Sappho.

As Virginia Brown notes in the 2003 introduction to her translation of the work, Boccaccio "devoted the last decades of his life, dominated by the influence of Petrarch's humanism, to compiling, in Latin, several large and learned tomes, including a mythological encyclopedia, a compendium of the lives of great men, a geographical encyclopedia, and [a] biographical compendium of famous women, … the first collection of biographies in Western literature devoted exclusively to women" (xi). She describes this work as "the fountainhead of the European tradition of female biography" (Boccaccio xxi). It contains primarily the biographies of women from the Bible and mythology (I – XLIII) and pagan women from Greco-Roman antiquity (XLIV – C). The final six women, "Joan, an Englishwoman and Pope," "Irene, Empress of Constantinople," "Gualdrada, a Florentine maiden," "Constance, Empress of Rome and Queen of Sicily," "Camiola, a Sienese Widow" and "Joana, Queen of Jerusalem and

Sicily" are the "[o]nly [to] treat women who lived in post-classical times" (Boccaccio xv). It is possible that Boccaccio originally intended to write an even number of one hundred biographies, but felt the need to add the final six as a sign of deference to his patrons and hosts in Sicily (Boccaccio xv). The six reveal a curious mix of personalities. Pope Joan,[7] believed to have risen to the most powerful position in the Catholic church disguised as a man, is praised by Boccaccio for the love that caused her to "[cast] aside virginal modesty and feminine timidity," and for her "good mind," which led her to remain in the priesthood after the death of her lover, "drawn by the charms of learning" (Boccaccio 215). Empress Irene, mother of the Byzantine Emperor Constantine VI (771-802), was praised as "astute" and "courageous" after wresting the Empire from her son by having him blinded, of which wounds he later died (Boccaccio 218). The final four women could most closely be associated with the dedicatee of the text, Andrea Acciaiuoli, a Tuscan woman who had lived in Sicily (Boccaccio and Brown xiii). While the dedication might most properly have been to Joana of Naples, regent in the area Boccaccio was visiting, he was there by invitation of Niccolò Acciaiuoli, and thus deftly includes Queen Joana as the final biography, and praises Andrea Acciaiuoli in the dedication as being second only to the queen (Boccaccio xiii). Boccaccio's reason for dedicating the book to Andrea rather than Joana is that "[he] was afraid that his book was not worthy of so illustrious a personage" (Boccaccio xiii).

Brown notes that this text was quite popular among Boccaccio's contemporaries and was disseminated in Latin and translated into a number of languages, including

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7 Although it was widely believed throughout the medieval and early modern period, most scholars currently consider the story of Pope Joan to be a myth. A. Boureau, *The Myth of Pope Joan* (University of Chicago Press, 2001).

English, German,[8] French and Spanish. In it, Boccaccio anticipates "ideas that would later find clearer expression in the Renaissance," "though still influenced by medieval conceptions of women" (Boccaccio xiv). For example, the text seems to indicate that it was "appropriate for gifted women … to seek and acquire fame for their contributions to art, literature, and the active life of public affairs" (Boccaccio xiv - xv). A caveat here is that while Boccaccio "in certain respects … succeeds in escaping the prejudices of his sex and his sources," as noted by Brown, and he showed "unqualified and apparently sincere admiration for the literary achievements of women," (Boccaccio xviii) we must remember that this praise was primarily for women who either never existed or were certainly not alive at the time Boccaccio was writing, and whose works he had likely never seen. So, while it is noteworthy that he went beyond the "bare mention" that a woman was notable for a certain artistic achievement, endeavor, or for her courage, as found in his sources (Boccaccio xviii), we must nonetheless be cautious before ascribing to this Boccaccio's personal feelings concerning the value and status of women in society.

The *Querelle des Femmes* raised questions concerning women's status in society and their nature. While some scholars (Joan Kelly and Gerda Lerner, for example) believe the *Querelle des Femmes* began with the publication of Christine de Pizan's (1364 – ca. 1430) *Book of the City of Ladies* early in the fifteenth century, others (for example, Carolyn Lougee, Natalie Zemon Davis and Arlette Farge) place the beginning in the sixteenth century (Bock, Zimmermann and Kopyczinski 19). Gisela Bock and

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8 The first German translation is attributed to Heinrich Steinhöwel and published ca. 1473. Giovanni Boccaccio, *Famous Women*, trans. Virginia Brown (Harvard University Press, 2003) xx. John L. Flood, "Parallel Lives: Heinrich Steinhöwel, Albrecht Von Eyb, and Niklas Von Wyle," *Early Modern German Literature 1350 - 1700*, ed. Max Reinhart, Camden House History of German Literature (Rochester: Camden House, 2007) 781.

Margarete Zimmermann argue that the beginning of the *Querelle des Femmes* can be traced to the thirteenth century (Bock, Zimmermann and Kopyczinski 20). The *Querelle des Femmes* was a debate about the nature of women carried out into the nineteenth century and in a variety of media, including novels, romances, and prescriptive literature. It formed the basis for disputations at early modern universities (Niefanger 61). The two camps have generally been divided into "misogynist" and "philogynist," and have debated a number of topics including, but not limited to, the following: whether women were created in the image of God, whether women have souls, whether women are physically inferior or superior to men, whether women are truly a separate creation or malformed men, whether women are spiritually superior or inferior to men, and whether women can be educated. As Merry Wiesner notes, "[t]he most extreme statements of female inferiority, such as the argument that women were not human beings … are judged to be so outrageous that their authors could have only meant them as satirical jokes" (22). In addition, that "[a] number of the authors of defenses of women … also wrote attacks on women … has led some modern analysts to view the entire debate about women as a literary game" (Wiesner 22). In spite of this, Wiesner notes that the prevalence of the topic of women's virtues and vices in popular literature shows that this was an important question across all levels of society (22).

As noted above, the debates surrounding women did not all focus on whether or not a woman could be educated. This was simply one aspect of a larger debate concerning the nature of woman, her relationship to man, and her place within society. In the context of a discussion about women writers, it is a significant part of the debate. In Germany the discussion of women's capacity for learning began slowly with Conrad Celtis's (1459-1508) rediscovery and subsequent publication in 1501 of the works of Hrotsvit von Gandersheim (ca. 935 – ca. 1002) and continued in academic discussions

and popular literature throughout the sixteenth century. In 1529, for example, Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim (1486-1535) wrote the *Declamatio de nobilitate et praecellentia foeminei sexus,* in which he argued for the theological and moral superiority of women. The discussion of women's virtues and vices was quite lively during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, both in academic circles and popular literature (Wiesner 25).

The Protestant Reformation, which began in 1517, was a further stage in the discussion of the education of women, although the attitudes of the reformers to women could best be described as ambivalent. The belief that women and men were spiritually equal was coupled with a strongly patriarchal family hierarchy and emphasis on marriage as the highest and best goal for both men and women (Hufton 41). The effect of the Reformation on women's education was contradictory from a modern perspective, because the idea that women should receive basic instruction in reading increased, but their subservient roles were often affirmed in prescriptive literature, and places of higher learning previously available to women, such as the convents, were thereafter closed to them. The reformers argued that all believers, both men and women, should be able to read holy scripture, important prayers, and the catechism for themselves, which led to the establishment of church schools, including in some instances schools for girls, in cities and towns throughout northern Germany where the Reformation had most strongly taken hold (Moore XXVIII).

> In the sixteenth century, about forty Protestant church ordinances in Germany called for the establishment of girls' schools, though it is difficult to tell how many schools were actually opened, as many areas do not have good records. One that does is the province of Electoral Saxony in central Germany, whose records indicate that by 1580, 50 percent of the parishes had licensed German-language

> schools for boys and 10 percent for girls; by 1675 those numbers had increased to 94 and 40 percent. By 1600 there were also a number of girls' schools in southwestern Germany and in the province of Brandenburg, although many of these disappeared in the turmoil of the Thirty Years' War (Wiesner 146-48).

However, the Reformation also resulted in a reduction of certain traditional venues of women's education because, while they supported women's education for the purposes of furthering the Reformation, they also held that the monastic life was contrary to the Laws of God and thus closed monasteries and convents, which had previously been centers of female learning (Hufton 372). The convents were a place where women could obtain an education and learn to read and write Latin, as Caritas Pirckheimer (1467 – 1532) and many others had done, as well as a place where women could arrange their lives away from a male-dominated society and as an alternative to marriage.

The church school and the convent were not the only place for a young woman to be educated. If her family supported her desire, it was also possible for a young woman to receive an education at home from the same tutor who taught her brothers or from her father. If the family was wealthy enough to possess books, she could further her education by reading at home. Anna Maria van Schurmann (1607 – 1678), one of the most famous educated women in the seventeenth century, "was educated at her father's command alongside her two brothers" (Wiesner 160). Van Schurmann was also granted the very rare privilege of attending lectures at the University of Utrecht, although she was required to conceal herself from view by hiding behind a curtain (Wiesner 160). Margaret Roper (1505-1544), the eldest daughter of Sir Thomas More (1478 – 1535), also received an education at home, where More "educated his children, their spouses, and other relatives in Latin and Greek, studying works of philosophy, poetry, science, and theology" (Wiesner 154-55).

It was thus possible albeit very rare for women to receive a Classical education in the humanist tradition, as in the cases of Anna Maria van Schurmann and Margaret Roper, who were both educated in Latin and Greek and composed texts in Latin. As Barbara Whitehead notes in the 1999 introduction to *Women's Education in Early Modern Europe*, "[s]uch exceptional women existed, although their rarity is such that, as one historian estimates, only fifteen women in Renaissance England received a humanist education" (xx). It is clear that this type of education was only available to a privileged few, and also only with the support and approval of at least some of the male members of the household, often the father or an elder brother. While women wishing to be educated certainly faced obstacles, a Classical education was also only available to a privileged few men, so the situation of women should be considered in that context. Dirk Niefanger, for example, notes that although 50% of men in early modern Germany may have received some type of schooling, only about 8000 attended university in the years prior to the Thirty Years War (59, 61). As the approximate population of Germany at that time was 16 million (Sturdy 75), that means that only 0.05% of the entire population was able to attend the university. If men made up approximately half of the population, then only approximately 0.1% of men attended the university.

As noted in Chapter One, certain material and social supports were necessary for a woman to be able to write. Anyone wishing to write would need to have a basic level of education. As it was not possible, with the notable exception of Anna Maria van Schurmann, for a woman to attend university, other means to access education were required. If family support was present, women could be educated at home. Both Sibylle Schwarz and Susanne Elisabeth Zeidler were supported extensively by their brothers and therefore likely educated at home. In the case of Sibylle Schwarz, she could also have completed the brief two years of schooling offered by the pastors of the churches of St.

Nikolai and St. Maria to young girls (Schwarz 11*). The curriculum included reading, arithmetic, catechism, psalm singing and music (Schwarz 11*). Her own erudition clearly went far beyond that curriculum, which provides a clear indication that she was also tutored at home. Ziefle reports that this course-of-study was required for "all young Pomeranian girls" and was listed in the church ordinance (Schwarz 11* n. 15). Niefanger notes that even in the few areas where *Schulpflicht* (compulsory education) existed in the early modern period, it was often not enforced (59). Melton writes that, "The limited evidence available … suggests extremely low rates of literacy even in areas where schools were available" (10). Therefore, it is highly unlikely that the course-of-study for young girls provided the level of education clearly in evidence in Schwarz's writing. In addition, Schwarz's family had extensive connections with the university, both with the faculty and students. This, coupled with the support offered by her father and brother, could begin to explain how she gained access to reading material and learned how to read and write. She herself alludes to a familiarity with Dutch and French, and indicates her desire to translate from the Dutch works of Jacob Cats (Schwarz I: 3). Following one of the two poems she translated from Dutch, "Lob der Verständigen und Tugendsamen Frauen/ verdeutschet auß dem Niederländischen," either Schwarz or Gerlach included the following note, which makes reference to the difficulties inherent in satisfactorily capturing both tone and layers of meaning when translating poetry from one language into another.

> Dieses Carmen ist seiner vielfältigen Mängel halber wohl zu entschuldigen weil kein Meister/ wenn er auch sechs Sinn hette daß/ das er auß dem Niederländischen verteutschet/ so wohl setzen kann/ wie etwas/ das er selbst machet/ etc. Uhrsachen lesset die Zeit nicht beyfügen; Liß Opitzen seine

> Verteutschung der Christlichen Religion auß Hugo Grotius, der wird dir weiters Bescheid geben. (Schwarz I: 64).

Schwarz also demonstrates familiarity with Classical literature, although it is not clear whether this familiarity came from the ability to read the works in Latin as opposed to being exposed to them in German translation. There is mention of her brother teaching her Latin, but it is difficult to establish definitively the extent of her knowledge and abilities in this area.

Susanne Elisabeth Zeidler was the daughter of a pastor and as such reared in a home full of books and learning, and one that was fertile ground for poetic minds, as evidenced by the number of Lutheran pastors' sons to contribute to the field of German poetry over the years (Küng and Jens 128). Protestant pastors had been educated at the university, and some, especially in poorer communities, benefitted from the extra income generated by teaching young people in *Winkelschulen* (unlicensed schools) (Melton 13). It is possible that Zeidler's father provided basic educational instruction to children in the community in this way, although there are no records stating specifically that this was the case. That schooling in this period was primarily concerned with developing good Christians also speaks to the prevalence of Protestant pastors earning extra income in this manner (Melton 13). Zeidler was also encouraged by her brother, who had contacts with fellow students in Wittenberg and Heidelberg, and was granted membership in the *Deutschgesinnte Genossenschaft*. The *Deutschgesinnte Genossenschaft* (German-minded Society) was one of several language societies founded in the seventeenth century. It was founded in 1642 by Philipp von Zesen and noted to be "more open to literary experimentation" than other language societies (Hess "Poetry" 424). The family's contacts would have included fellow pastors and their families in the region, as well as Johann Gottfried's colleagues from university and the *Deutschgesinnte Genossenschaft*.

The majority of women whose work was published in the seventeenth century wrote in the vernacular rather than Latin, sometimes even if they were capable of reading and writing that language. This includes Margaret Roper, whose only published work, other than her letters, was a translation into English of Erasmus's *A Devout Treatment of the Pater Noster* (1524) (Wiesner 155). In certain cases, such as that of Aphra Behn, who stated that she deeply regretted her inability to read Latin and Greek, it is clear that they could not write a text in Latin (Hufton 432). Others, like Roper, chose to write in the vernacular even if they could have done otherwise. While it is unlikely that anyone, whether male or female, who did not receive an education at a university could read and write Latin, it is not entirely impossible, as the example of Roper demonstrates.

It is important to note that the number of women capable of writing was very low during the time-period under consideration, as indeed was the number of men, although literacy increased throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Scholars generally measure literacy rates in this period by examining legal documents and counting the number of people capable of signing their own name. Olwen Hufton, looking at the situation of women in Europe throughout a 300-year time span, records female literacy rates of approximately 33 percent in Amsterdam in 1630, between 1 and 25 percent in Britain in the seventeenth century, and approximately 33 percent in France "on the eve of Revolution," while "the highest literacy levels in Europe by the mid-eighteenth century may have been reached in Prussia, where schooling was obligatory from 1717" (Hufton 428-29). Merry Wiesner records that women published approximately 1.2 percent of the works in England between 1640 and 1700 (Wiesner 191). Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly, in turn, found that the literacy rates in Germany for both men and women during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were between 5 and 10 percent (Watanabe-O'Kelly 29). Although it seems odd that women would have the same rate of literacy as men,

Barbara Whitehead also noted, specifically concerning women in Europe between 1500 – 1800, that "up to 90% of early modern women were illiterate" (Whitehead x).

Melton notes the scarcity of reliable information concerning literacy, as well as that a proliferation of schools in a given area did not necessarily constitute widespread literacy, even as late as the mid-eighteenth century (Melton 13). Extrapolating from the evidence provided by its closest neighbors, and taking into account the emphasis on greater literacy levels propounded by proponents of the Reformation in northern Europe, it is probably safe to assume that the literacy rate for women in Germany between 1624 and 1700 could have been between 5 and 10 percent at best, and that the publications by women accounted for less than 1 percent of all texts published in the vernacular, although both the literacy rates as well as the extent of women's contribution to the literary field increased gradually throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as demonstrated by the catalogue of notable women compiled by Jean Woods and Maria Fürstenwald. In general, literacy rates would have been highest in the upper and middle classes, and literacy would have been an exceedingly rare skill among the lowest classes, as would also have been true for men. Publication was limited to women whose families could afford the associated costs and whose social position afforded some protection from the criticism leveled at women who wished to publish (Wiesner 190). Even Sibylle Schwarz, whose family was one of the most influential in the city of Greifswald, requested that her name and all other biographical material be changed, so that none would be able to guess the provenance of her poems (Schwarz I: 5). She asked specifically that they be "dergestalt verendert/ undt alle bekandte Nahmen verdecket werden/ das Niemand/ er sey wer er wolle/ leßen möge/ von welchem Baume sie gefallen seyn" (Schwarz I: 5). Gerlach complied by creating an anagram of her name, "Sibylla Wachsesternin vohn Wildesfragen" (Sibylle Schwarzin von Greifswald) (Schwarz I:

a4v). Because she and her father both passed away prior to publication, it was deemed unnecessary to make those changes (Schwarz I: a4v). Zeidler likewise demonstrates her vulnerability to external criticism when she writes, "Das es aber in Druck gegangen/ ist solches fast wieder meinen Willen geschehen/ aus der Ursach/ weil sich etliche gefunden/ welche die von mir verfertigten Gedichte nicht vor meine/ sondern frembde Arbeit gehalten/ … deßwegen ichs auch endlich überdrüssig worden/ als ein unnützes Ding wenig geachtet und hingeworffen/ so das auch viel davon verlohren worden/" (Zeidler 11).

Women's roles and work

Both Schwarz and Zeidler affirmed that they did not forget or shirk their duties because they were writing poetry. Women's roles and the work they performed in the early modern period were shaped first and foremost by the social standing of their family, and then secondarily by their own role within the family. While it is true that they were socialized as women within that specific context to perform certain duties and attain certain accomplishments, that was no less true of the male members of the family (Whitehead xii). Both sons and daughters had a duty to the family that came before their duty to themselves. For example, when Lucas Behaim lost his stepmother in April 1610, he immediately returned home to help his father run the household (Steven Ozment 8). Likewise, when Susanne Elisabeth Zeidler's father went blind, her brother returned to fulfill the role of pastor in his father's stead. He remained for twenty years (1679 – 1699), serving until the death of his father, after which he declined to take the job himself, as he felt he was unsuited to the pastorate (Moore, "Introduction" XX-XXI).

The daughters of artisans and merchants were often trained in their family's business, in order to prepare them for the future role as wives and mothers of men

engaged in the same business (Wunder 8). The work performed by both women and men allowed the household to flourish; and the inability to perform adequately by either partner could in turn lead to economic ruin for the household unit as a whole (Wunder 205). Indeed, as Heide Wunder reports, "[w]ritten accounts and visual images provide plenty of evidence that women of all ages, from small girls to old women, and of all social strata – including the nobility – worked" (Wunder 70).

The Mayor's Daughter

In the funerary sermon upon the death of Christian Schwarz in Greifswald in 1648, Moevius Völschow reports that Christian, the father of Sibylle Schwarz, served on the city council in Greifswald starting in 1610, after which he was named *fürstlicher Landrat* in 1628 and finally mayor of Greifswald in 1631 (qtd. in Schwarz 9* n.5). As the daughter of a leading citizen, Schwarz would have enjoyed certain privileges, but would also have been subject to limitations different from those of women in the lower classes. In *He is the Sun, She is the Moon*, Heide Wunder notes that "from the seventeenth century on, … it became increasingly uncommon for women of the upper middle class to appear on the streets and in public squares" (Wunder 83). Instead, they "backed away from physical labor and public streets and places, devoting [themselves] more to fine needlework, educational tasks, and social events at home" (Wunder 83). The "woman of the house," traditionally the mother, but also the daughters, upon the mother's death, was responsible for the efficient running of the household, both physically and economically. In an epicedium composed in 1634 upon the death of a young mother, Schwarz notes that her loss results in the small children and the father wandering lost, without the ability to feed themselves or control the domestic help (Schwarz I: 23). The needlework frequently mentioned in relation to female poets, who either decry the

tyranny of the distaff or are encouraged to put down the pen and continue with their needlework, was not a simple way of passing the time, even for women of the upper classes. Rather, it contributed materially to the well-being of the family and was, as such, not to be taken lightly (Wunder 81).

The Pastor's Daughter

Susanne Elisabeth Zeidler was born the daughter of the pastor of a very small farming community, Fienstedt, located in the *Mansfelder*[9] *Land*. Village life carried with it different burdens, as compared to life in an urban center, where the "provisioning trades relieved individual households of the need to keep certain stocks, and they saved housewives a lot of time-consuming work" (Wunder 70). Because "the material belongings tended to be rather meager … among the Protestant pastors in the countryside," the work of the wife and other female members of the household often involved strenuous physical labor (Wunder 82). Zeidler's work includes an anti-*laus ruris* poem, in which the nymphs and Coridon debate whether it is best to live in the city or out in the country. The nymphs choose city life, while Coridon prefers life away from the difficulties of the city.

XXXIV.

Gespräch zwischen Coridon/ und den auff dem

weissen Berge wohnenden Nimphen in welchem

9 This area was part of the *Grafschaft Mansfeld*, controlled by the Counts of Mansfeld. Following the death of the final male heir, the area surrounding Fienstedt came under the purview of Frederick William, Elector of Brandenburg (1620 – 1688) as part of the Magdeburg succession. B. Lothar, *Die Prediger der Grafschaft Mansfeld : Eine Untersuchung zum geistlichen Sonderbewusstein in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Potsdam: Universitäts-Verlag Potsdam, 2007). L.F. Niemann, *Geschichte der Grafen von Mansfeld* (Aschersleben: Druck und Verlag von C. Lorleberg, 1834), 255. Sturdy, *Fractured Europe, 1600-1721*, 74.

jener das Land = diese aber das Stadtleben

rühmen. (Zeidler 103)

Coridon represents the conventional stance of the *laus ruris*-tradition, which originated in the Bucolics and Georgics of Vergil. It is the point-of-view of the man, struggling with the exigencies of political life in the city, who prefers the more peaceful life in the country, which allows time for reflection and thought. The nymphs, in turn, favored life in the city, which was not as lonely or difficult as life out in the country. Because Zeidler frequently refers to herself, the Sikelius sisters and other women as "Nymphs," the statements put forth by the nymphs in this dialogic poem could be read as expressing the desires of Zeidler herself. For example, in the wedding poem written to celebrate the nuptials of Samuel Müller and Magdalena Sophia Glaß she refers to the bride as "Die edle Nymphe" (Zeidler 28). She addresses the Sikelius sisters as "Geehrtes Nimphen Volck/ geliebte Sikelinnen" (Zeidler 41). And in her well-known defense of women's writing, "Beglaubigung der Jungfer Poeterey*,"* she differentiates female poets from the sons of Phoebus (Apollo) as follows: "Die Pallas [Athena] pflegt desgleichen // Künst/ Weißheit und Verstand uns Nimphen darzureichen" (Zeidler 48). Thus, while the use of the figure of Coridon and the nymphs fits the rhetorical tradition, it is also possible to read the nymphs within the context of her work as presenting her own feelings and opinion.

This poem is clearly set in Germany, and could therefore also be read in the tradition of the *translatio artium*, the humanist tradition in Germany that marked the transfer of Classical learning first from Greece to Italy, and then from there to Germany (Füssel 217). The Nymphs hold court in the city of Wittenberg, where Zeidler's brother attended University at the "Leucoreum." Both the title and the location as described specifically evoke Wittenberg, whose name derives from "weißen Berg" and means

White Mountain. It is located on the banks of the Elbe River. This adds a new interpretive layer to the reading of this poem, because it was Zeidler's brother who lived and studied in Wittenberg, not Zeidler herself. The male figure, Coridon, speaking in favor of country life can also be understood ironically, as Zeidler's brother regretted being forced to return to the small country town of Fienstedt in order to support his father when the latter lost his sight, and promptly returned to the city of Halle after his father's death, rather than permanently take over as pastor of Fienstedt.

It was while in Wittenberg that he was honored as poet laureate and granted membership in the *Deutschgesinnte Genossenschaft*. A reader with the full context of Zeidler's work as well as some knowledge of her family and personal situation confronts a shifting ambiguous sense of the voice in this poem. On the one hand, Zeidler refers consistently to herself and other women as nymphs throughout her work, allowing the reading that the nymphs embody, to an extent, her voice. It is exactly in the shifting ventriloquism that we see Zeidler coming to voice in this piece. Whereas in a standard piece that follows in the rhetorical tradition of praising rural life and the attendant freedom from the difficulties of city life the figure of the man choosing the tranquility of the quiet country life and praising the same was standard and modeled correct behavior: it is correct to value the tranquil life in the country over the potentially corrupting life in the city. In this piece it is not quite so straightforward, although we again have a male voice, Coridon, praising country life. To gain a deeper understanding of how Zeidler is manipulating the norms and creating a space for her own voice, it is necessary to have a full understanding of the poetic practices used by male poets in this period.

GERMAN BAROQUE POETRY

It is vital to understand the rhetorical and poetic context within which they were writing and creating in order to see with clarity the ways in which female poets shift prevailing ideas in order to redefine the act of writing as a component of female identity, and also as a way to create a discursive space in which women's writing could legitimately take place. For this reason, the following survey of seventeenth-century poetry and poetics is included to provide the necessary context. The dominant poetic norms in this period were established by male authorities in this period, and it is therefore illuminating to see the ways in which female poets either adhered to or subtly transgressed the norms.

Poetics/ Vernacular Literature

Baroque poetry is in many senses a final development in a much older rhetoric-based literary tradition that traces its roots in the poetics and rhetoric of Greek and Roman antiquity (Segebrecht 62; Knape 247). The most significant figure for German vernacular poetry and poetics was Martin Opitz, who was in turn significantly influenced by Scaliger, Heinsius and Ronsard (Hess "Poetry" 411, 15).[10] Joachim Knape notes that "[t]he purpose of German poetics was in the first place to refine the German language to a degree that made it competitive with [the other national languages of Europe]" (Knape 255). In his article on education in early modern Germany, Wilhelm Kühlmann notes that in the seventeenth-century "[h]andbooks on practical eloquence and the cultivation of

10 Interest in Ronsard and the work of the *Pléiade* in France preceded Opitz, and a number of poets in the early seventeenth century were likewise influenced by Ronsard and the "consciousness of new literary beginnings" of the turn-of-the-century, such as Theobald Hock, who "anticipated many of Opitz's reforms" and Georg Rodolf Weckherlin, who made "the first attempt at a learned German poetry oriented on Renaissance metrics." Hess, "Poetry in Germany, 1450 - 1700," 415.

poetry in the colloquial language" follow the lead of Martin Opitz "and frequently appeal to humanism's cultural patriotism under reference to central concepts of Renaissance literary theories" (Kühlmann 142). In the introduction to the 1624 *Buch der Deutschen Poeterey* Opitz establishes a link between his own work and the pan-European movement that emphasized the use of the vernacular in literature and began in Italy in the mid-fourteenth century. He aligns himself with famous Italian and French poets, saying, "[w]iewol auch bey den Italienern erst Petrarcha die Poeterey in seiner Muttersprache getrieben hat/ vnnd nicht sehr vnlengst Ronsardus;" (Opitz 25). The analogy to other European vernaculars justifies writing a poetics in the German vernacular. Opitz calls upon German authors to use the vernacular and thereby demonstrate the quality of German-language literature in comparison to its classical forebears and its immediate neighbors. Thus his desire for a reform of German-language poetry arose not only out of a desire to "emulate and excell the Ancients" (Porter and Teich 4), but also, as he indicates in the appendix to *Aristarchus,* out of a desire to equal the achievements of neighbors such as the French, Italian, Dutch and English vernacular literatures (Opitz 94). Knape writes in "Poetics and Rhetorics in Early Modern Germany" "The purpose of German poetics was in the first place to refine the German language to a degree that made it competitive with [the other national languages of Europe]" (Knape 255).

Establishing a vernacular *Kunstdichtung* was, for Opitz, the *sine qua non* of proving the merits of the German language and thus the equality of German intellectual life in relation to its European neighbors. In the introduction to *Aristarchus* in 1617, he wrote

> Zeigt eine Gesinnung, würdig eures edlen Volkes, verteidigt eure Sprache mit derselben Ausdauer, mit der jene einst ihre Grenzen schützten. Eure Vorfahren,

> die tapferen und weitberühmten Semnonen, trugen keine Bedenken, für Altar und Herd zu sterben. Schon die Not fordert jetzt von euch, daß ihr dasselbe leistet. Bringt es wenigstens dahin, daß ihr die hohe Gesinnung, welche ihr lauter in euren edlen Herzen bewahrt, auch in einer lauteren Sprache ausdrücken könnt. Bringt es dahin, daß ihr die Gewandtheit der Rede, die ihr von euren Eltern überkommen habt, euren Kindern hinterlaßt. Bringt es endlich dahin, daß ihr den übrigen Völkern, welche ihr an Tapferkeit und Treue übertrefft, auch an Trefflichkeit eurer Sprache nicht nachsteht. (Opitz 94).

The *Aristarchus* was a rousing call-to-arms in defense of the German language that evoked a familiar figure, Aristarchus of Samothrace, the grammarian who applied his own strict rules to lines of Homer. Although Opitz intended a defense of German as a literary language, it was written and published in Latin, which remained the primary language of publication used by the educated elite until the second half of the eighteenth century (Opitz 201). This ensured a wider readership, rather than being restricted to those who could read and understand German. Opitz was not the first German scholar to seek to develop a German vernacular that could be an appropriate vehicle for literature in the Classical humanist tradition. Conrad Celtis, writing in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, had noted the importance of the invention of printing in Germany as a way "for the ancient learning to be transferred across the Alps to Germania" (Füssel 217).

In the course of his studies Opitz had read Tacitus's *Germania*,[11] to which he also makes reference in Book IV of the *Buch von der Deutschen Poeterey* (Opitz 29). Although Opitz mentions the language "which you received from your parents," meaning of course both mother and father, in his call to protect the German language, his reform

11 He is alluding to Tacitus in his mention of the "Semnonen" described in this section.

movement did not specifically include an emphasis on female learning or literacy, nor a call for women to take up the pen. But his reform nonetheless opened the door for female poets and women were early adopters and defenders of Opitz's reforms.

Although the *Buch von der Deutschen Poeterey* was primarily an adaptation of classical poetics, especially as transmitted in neo-Latin Renaissance poetics, into the German vernacular (Knape 255), Opitz did make several significant contributions to the field. First, the *Buch von der Deutschen Poeterey* was the first vernacular poetics in the German language to espouse the humanist poetic traditions, making a break with previous prologue poetics, which were incomplete, and those related to the tradition of Meistergesang, which the new theoreticians considered "antiquated" (Knape 255). Earlier German vernacular poetics included prologues to the works of Konrad von Würzburg (ca. 1230 – 1287), Heinrich von Hesler (before 1312) and Nikolaus von Jeroschin (d. ca. 1345), as well as ordinances concering the Meistersinger and Meistergesang (Knape 254-55). It is important to note that these were not complete poetics. Following its publication, the "standards established in neo-Latin literature by Celtis, Wimpfeling, Bebel, Vadianus, and others, also became normative for German literature" (Knape 255). To put it another way, it was the first learned vernacular poetics intended specifically for a German reader (Hess 416). The most significant contribution was Opitz's recognition that "natural word stress" rather than syllable length mattered, which led him to prescribe the use of alternating meter using either iambic or trochaic metric feet (Hess 416). He promoted the use of the alexandrine, which consisted of six metric feet and was thus "the German equivalent of the classic hexameter," as "the appropriate medium to express refined thought and emotion" (Hess 416), but also promoted the use of the *vers commun* as appropriate for the German language (Hess 416). Two writers of the French *Pleiade,* a French literary society, Ronsard and du Bellay, promoted the *vers commun* and it was the

most commonly used verse in France during the early modern period, as its name implies (Helgerson xiii). The writers of the *Pléiade,* and especially Ronsard, were admired and held up as models by Opitz, who acknowledged how significant their work was in developing French vernacular poetry to an international standard (Opitz 25).

Occasional Poetry

The majority of poems written in the vernacular during the Baroque are occasional poems (*Gelegenheitslyrik*, *Casuallyrik*). On the surface, this class of poem can simply be defined as having been written for a certain occasion. For example, occasional poems were written to celebrate marriages, congratulate those who had been honored, mark the arrival or departure of guests or members of the family, and mourn the passing of those who had been lost. Since the *Sturm und Drang* (Storm and Stress) period in German literature, there has been a division between subjective, experiential poetry, which expresses the feelings, moods or ideas of the author and occasional poetry, which, because it was occasioned by an external cause rather than the poet's inspiration, was often denigrated as a less-worthy pursuit (Hess 395). That distinction, however, does not apply to the seventeenth century, where "[e]arly modern poetics recognized no qualitative distinction between poems celebrating social occasions and poems recounting subjective experiences" (Hess 396).

Early modern poetry primarily served a social function. Renate Fischetti wrote,

> In ihrer Funktion war die Barockliteratur gesellschaftlich gebunden. Sie war öffentlich, repräsentativ, einerseits Teil des geselligen Hoflebens, andererseits galt sie der Pflege eines Freundschafts- und Huldigungskults innerhalb bürgerlicher Kreise. Sie war Ausdruck eines noch einheitlichen Weltbildes. Lediglich einige

> religiöse Dichter waren von dieser Entwicklung ausgenommen. Vor allem das Kirchenlied tendierte zum Privaten (Fischetti 22).

As Fischetti notes, certain pieces do tend toward more personal expressions of feeling, especially hymns and devotional poetry. Nevertheless, even poems that appear on the surface to be written as a personal expression of feeling, such as Paul Fleming's "An Sich" or Andreas Gryphius's "Thränen des Vaterlandes" serve a representational or social function. In "An Sich," (To Himself) the speaker, speaking to himself, demands that he be "dennoch unverzagt" (nevertheless undismayed), which is to say that he embodies the neo-Stoic virtue of *constantia* (constancy) in the face of difficulties. While Fleming may be directing the message to himself, he is also voicing a neo-Stoic ideal, which he implicitly indicates should be embraced by all. In "Thränen des Vaterlandes" (Tears of the Fatherland), Andreas Gryphius expresses the horrors meted out to the populace during the Thirty Years War. The sonnet contains strong imagery evoking swords drenched in blood and rivers dammed by corpses. In the first line, Gryphius speaks collectively, beginning with the word *wir* (we). This demonstrates the shared nature of the suffering. The final three lines, in contrast, are spoken in the first person singular:

> Doch schweig ich noch von dem, was ärger als der Tod,
> Was grimmer denn die Pest und Glutt und Hungersnoth,
> Dass auch der Seelen Schatz so vielen abgezwungen.
> (Gryphius "Thränen des Vaterlandes" lines 12-14)

In this final stanza, the poet speaks in the first person, identifying the worst consequence of war and devastation, the loss of faith. While this sentiment could certainly be an expression of Gryphius's personal feelings, it also functions socially and collectively. It is an injunction to the reader to return to faith when all else has been taken away. The poet

is modeling proper thinking, and in that sense providing moral instruction, fulfilling the Horatian command.

Content and Form

The Baroque worldview is characterized by strong dichotomies, dividing the world into two on the basis of the fundamental dichotomy, *Diesseits* and *Jenseits*. "Zu den zentralen Gedanken … gehört die Spannung von Diesseits und Jenseits und damit verbunden der Tod als der Punkt, an dem beide Bereiche in Verbindung treten" (Trunz 116). [12] The seventeenth century was marked by the chaos of war and illness. As noted by Erich Trunz, "das innerste Anliegen des Dichters … [ist] die Überwindung des Chaos der Welt" (Trunz 35). Hirsch reports that "Grimmelshausens Simplicissimus kommt zum Abschluß seiner Weltfahrt zur Einsicht, der ganze Sinn des Lebens bestehe darin sich vom Diesseits zu lösen" (Hirsch 99). In an effort to overcome this chaos, the poet followed a strict set of rules, constructed based on the models of Classical and Renaissance handbooks of poetry and rhetoric.

The most important philosophical movement in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries was neo-Stoicism (Kühlmann 306). Neo-Stoicism is a combination of the early Stoic philosophy developed by Zeno and transmitted through the writings of a number of late Classical Roman writers with the concept of a Christian God. Stoic philosophy was transmitted throughout much of the late Medieval and early Renaissance world, particularly in the writings of Seneca (Ozment, *Age of Reform* 43), but also in the works of Petrarch (Kraye 21). A central work of great influence to Baroque poets in Germany, was Justus Lipsius's 1584 publication, *De Constantia* (Papy 47). Lipsius

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12 To the central ideas of the Baroque belongs the tension between "Diesseits" (the here) and "Jenseits" (the hereafter) and, connected with these, death, as the point at which the two come into connection

worked in Leiden, and influenced Daniel Heinsius and Martin Opitz, among others. Especially after the publication of *De Constantia* Lipsius's life and thought became paradigmatic for learned men in the seventeenth century, including Opitz and Zincgref (Verweyen 834). *Constantia* (constancy) is a common theme in early modern works. Neo-Stoic philosophy was particularly appealing, especially during turbulence of the Thirty Years War, because it "offered a set of personal therapies for troubled times, a political teaching to strengthen the civil government of a virtuous prince, a public philosophy that sought to avoid the scourge of religious war, and a philosophical view of the world that sought harmoniously to blend Christian teaching with ancient wisdom" (Brooke 93).

As noted above, the Baroque poet strictly adhered to prescribed forms and conventional rhetorical devices in order to demonstrate the aptness of the German language as a vehicle for the expression of humanist thought, thus proving its equality to neighboring vernacular languages. Use of rhetorical devices and the artistic juxtaposition of conventional imagery demonstrated the level of learning a poet had attained. Early poetics carefully prescribed the appropriate forms in which this content should be transmitted. Martin Opitz, for example, expresses his preference for iambic meter and alexandrine verses as follows:

> Vnter den Jambischen versen sind die zue föderste zue setzen/ welche man Alexandrinische/ von jhrem ersten erfinder/ der ein Italiener soll gewesen sein/ zue nennen pfleget/ vnd werden an statt der Griechen und Römer heroischen verse gebraucht: Ob gleich Ronsardt die Vers communs oder gemeinen verse/ von denen wir stracks sagen werden/ hierzue tüchtiger zue sein vermeinet; weil die Alexandrinischen wegen jhrer weitleufftigkeit der vngebundenen vnnd freyen rede zue sehr ähnlich sindt/ wann sie nicht jhren mann finden/ der sie mit

> lebendigen farben herauß zue streichen weiß. Weil aber dieses einem Poeten zuestehet/ vnd die vber welcher vermögen es ist nicht gezwungen sind sich darmit zue ärgern/ vnsere sprache auch ohne diß in solche enge der wörter wie die Frantzösische nicht kan gebracht werden/ mussen vnd können wir sie an statt der heroischen verse gar wol behalten: inmassen dann auch die Niederländer zue thun pflegen (Opitz 53).

In this brief excerpt, Opitz notes his preference for the alexandrine, particularly because it required the hand of a learned and talented poet. He notes that Ronsard preferred the *vers commun*, in part because the alexandrine, because of its length, was too similar to prose, "weil die Alexandrinischen wegen jhrer weitleufftigkeit der vngebundenen vnnd freyen rede zue sehr ähnlich sindt" (Opitz 53). Opitz recommends their use particularly for that reason, because a poet should have the necessary talent, and also because the German language is more difficult to force into the "enge der wörter" of the French. Following the prescription set forth by Opitz, Baroque vernacular poets adhered to strictly alternating meters in the 1620s. This included iambic and trochaic metrical feet, that were meant to follow the natural word-stress present in German (Niefanger 85). This quickly changed, based on the teachings of August Buchner and his student Philipp von Zesen, who espoused the use of the dactyl in German (Hess 424). Although Zesen's poetics was not published until 1641, the idea was spread in university lectures and by word-of-mouth, with evidence of adoption by some poets as early as the 1630s. That this teaching quickly gained ground, even among avid followers of Opitz's teachings is clear by that they were also adopted by women writers. Sibylle Schwarz, who died in 1638, mentioned August Buchner by name in one of the letters included with her poetry, and used dactyls in her dramatization of the biblical story of "Susanna." Dorothea Eleonore von Rosenthal, an admirer of Opitz's work, was an ardent follower of Zesen and published a poem in

admiration of him and specifically the new meter in 1641. Susanne Elisabeth Zeidler also employed the dactyl in her poetry.

Most poems were written in lines consisting of four, five, or six metrical feet. As noted above, Martin Opitz considered the alexandrine, a verse made up of six metrical feet with a caesura in the middle, to be "the appropriate medium to express refined thought and emotion" (Hess 416). Its structure was ideal for the dialectical expression of ideas preferred in the Baroque period, as articulated at its most basic in the *Diesseits/ Jenseits* motif (Hess 387). Many poets, most notably Andreas Gryphius, made use of this feature by setting up "thesis/antithesis" statements in their poems (Hess 370).

Lyric poetry in the Baroque was generally in the form of sonnets, odes, songs, epigrams or graphic poems (Niefanger 87). Poets also constructed longer epic poems, such as Opitz's *TrostGedichte in Widerwertigkeit deß Kriegs*, published in 1633, which consists of 2308 alexandrines. It is divided into four books and is the most extensive single work by Opitz (Niefanger 109). The sonnet, whose form lent itself to the use of dialectical argument and whose brevity demanded a high degree of skill on the part of the poet, was the most frequent form (Niefanger 87). It consists of two quartets and two tercets, for a total of fourteen lines. Baroque poets felt that this form was conducive to the construction of a dialectical argument consisting of thesis, antithesis and correction (*correctio*) (Niefanger 87). The second most common form was the epigram, a poetic short form (often as short as two lines, but sometimes far longer) designed to allow the poet to demonstrate his (or her) skill, by expressing a complex idea in a surprising, witty or fanciful way, marked by brevity (Niefanger 89). The term "ode" in seventeenth-century usage in Germany could either refer to the Pindaric ode or simply mean song (Niefanger 88). The Pindaric ode consisted of triads, which in turn were made up of *Strophe*, *Antistrophe* and *Epode*. The three parts of each triad related to each other in

content, rhyme and metric scheme. The Strophe and Antistrophe each followed the same rhyme scheme and meter. They were then followed by the Epode, which had a rhyme and metric scheme of its own. Each verse consisted of all three parts, and each subsequent verse would follow the same pattern as the first. This form also clearly lent itself to the construction of dialectical arguments based on thesis-antithesis-synthesis format. Poets of the seventeenth century also wrote odes in the style of Horace, as well as free-form odes.

Baroque poetry was highly rhetorical (Reinhart xv). Poets made use of a variety of rhetorical devices in order to adequately adorn their poems and demonstrate their own mastery of those devices and eloquence. Some of the most frequently used rhetorical devices were hyperbole; antithesis; wordplay or the conceit; accumulation, such as repetition, enumeration, parallelism, or amplification; and extensive imagery, such as simile and metaphor (Niefanger 92). Baroque poets also used *topoi* or *loci communes* to collect appropriate images or arguments for their text. These derived from Classical rhetoric, and formed part of the humanist educational curriculum. In the Baroque period, "[l]anguage is … the key to accessing universal knowledge. Until the close of the seventeenth century, theology, jurisprudence, and other disciplines continued to adapt their discourses and organizational principles to the topic-oriented methods devised by Erasmus and Melanchthon for excerpting and retrieving data. *Topoi* (Latin *loci*) in this sense no longer merely provided handy compartments for arguments but now, as *loci communes* (commonplaces), became concepts that structured and guided knowledge of every kind" (Kühlmann 155 - 56). Baroque poets could draw on the collected *topoi*, based on the images in the emblem books of the period or collections of quotes by Classical authors to collect suitable images and arguments. While some emblems, such as the olive branch or dove, representing peace, have maintained their meaning and are easily comprehensible to modern scholars, others require a thorough familiarity with

early modern emblem books[13] and other collections of *topoi* or *loci communes* for a correct understanding (Niefanger 96).

The Poet

Building upon the educational reforms that took place in the wake of the Protestant Reformation, the early modern poet recognized that, as Melanchthon had also taught, "[l]anguage served not only for simple communication but also to demonstrate competence, rank, and power, not to mention aesthetic sophistication and intellectual worthiness" (Kühlmann 138). The early modern poet, as conceived by Martin Opitz and the early adopters of his literary reform, was an educated man, with the ability to skillfully demonstrate his linguistic ability. He could produce representative poetry as occasion demanded and serve as an able court official or in the professions: law and theology. Opitz wrote that, "ein Poet muss … 'in den griechischen und Lateinischen büchern' belesen sein und 'alle lehren/ welche sonsten zue der Poesie erfordert werden' beherrschen" (qtd. in Niefanger 64). His education consisted of instruction in a far-ranging curriculum. As Harsdörffer later expressed it, he who desires the title of poet should be well-versed in the sciences and liberal arts (Niefanger 64).

One of the most significant aspects of the Baroque poet was that writing poetry was not his primary occupation (Niefanger 63). It was *Nebenarbeit*, work done after duty has been satisfied (Niefanger 63). Further, the poems written during times of leisure should both entertain and be useful, which is to say that they should fulfill a didactic

13 An excellent starting point for a scholar interested in researching emblem books in this period is the handbook of emblems edited and published by Arthur Henkel and Albrecht Schöne. A. Henkel and A. Schöne, eds., *Emblemata: Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des xvi. und xvii. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 1996).

function. To express it in a more modern fashion, in this way poets served the needs of society as a whole by enacting social values in a rhetorically effective fashion.

Women Writers in Germany

Anna Carrdus has demonstrated that "[Opitz's] vernacularization of the classical ars follows the three pedagogic principles that transmit rhetorical tradition: praecepta, exempla and imitatio" (Carrdus 21). In the *Buch von der deutschen Poeterey*, Opitz first taught the rules, and then he included a number of examples to illustrate those rules. He finally called on other poets to imitate his work, a call which was taken up by a number of female poets in addition to the male poets who immediately took to his reforms and demonstrated their approval for the work he had done. That his handbook was written in the vernacular made it accessible to readers unable to read Latin, and this opened it up to women.

In Italy, the source of the Renaissance humanism which spread out to the rest of Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and led to a renewed interest in cultivating vernacular literature, the figure of the "learned woman" (called either *femina docta* or *puella docta*) played an important cultural role. Female poets, in particular, played a representative role in modeling the cultural identity of the courts and cities in which they worked. Virginia Cox has carefully elucidated the role of the "learned woman" in the context of Italian humanist discourse and the cultural role she played in the years 1400-1650. She writes,

> Female writers were not simply writers who happened to be female; they were a separate cultural category, with distinct cultural functions, including a highly distinctive vocation, during the period under scrutiny here, as a privileged site for the negotiation of literary change. Once women writers had been charged with the

> significance they came to assume in humanism and Petrarchism, even their absence from the literary scene took on meaning. (Cox 232)

Vernacular poetry, which began to flourish in Italy in the 1470s, became the vehicle through which a number of female poets distinguished themselves (Cox 38). Indeed, it was in "the genre of lyric poetry […], almost exclusively, that women would make their mark in the initial phase of their emergence as vernacular writers" (Cox 39). Women were considered the ideal patrons as well as the ideal audience for lyric poetry in Italy during the late 1400s (Cox 40). Cox demonstrates that female authors acquired a privileged status, particularly when they were the daughters of a noble court, as for example the court of the Este in Milan. The "learned woman" functioned as representative of the level of learning attained at the court, for how much learning must there be, if even the women are highly accomplished?

I draw on the example of Italy to show how the introduction of vernacular poetry leads to women's participation in poetic endeavors and also to contrast the social function of women writing Italian vernacular poetry and those writing German vernacular poetry. Vernacular poetry by women, usually women of the upper class, was often used as a means to demonstrate the power of that state in contrast to its neighbors. In Germany, vernacular poetry, and specifically the genre of occasional poetry (*Gelegenheitsdichtung*), functioned as a vehicle for self-expression and self-validation on the part of the burgeoning middle classes, rather than as a representational vehicle for the upper classes, as in Italy.

Although the political situation and status of female poets in seventeenth-century Germany was quite unlike that in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Italy, the initial flourishing of a local vernacular literature, the learned poetry (*Kunstdichtung*) in the tradition of the Italian Renaissance humanism sought by Martin Opitz and other poets,

led to an increase in female authorship and particularly to a growing number of women who chose to take up the pen and write lyric poetry. As Cassandra Fedele brought honor to Venice and Laura Cereta to Brescia (Cox 27), the presence of a female poet was used to enhance the prestige of towns and regions in Germany as well. Sibylle Schwarz, for example, served as a mark if distinction for the "*Pommernlande*" (Pomerania) from which she hailed well into the early twentieth century.

The question of why women chose to take up the pen and why the flourishing of vernacular literature would lead to an increase in female authorship is complex. Depending on the genre she chose, she could be lauded or covered in infamy, and it was important for a female writer to be careful of her reputation (Hufton 232). As the second quote by Sibylle Schwarz at the beginning of this chapter indicates, the women themselves wrote because poetry had been, in her words, "a source of much good." In other words, poetry led to virtue. Because women in the seventeenth century were meant to embody virtue, this was her way of arguing that she, as a woman, was ideally suited to the art of poetry. In the case of male poets, the purpose of humanistic learning and demonstrations of poetical skill was to serve the public good in the form of public office of some kind. Poetry could also be used to cement the social bonds necessary for such public endeavor. Women, in contrast, even when admitted to a humanist education, were specifically excluded from using it for the public good by serving in public office and this fact was sometimes used to bolster the argument that they should not be educated. Anna Maria van Schurmann argued, like Schwarz concerning the practice of poetry, that that same humanist education could lead women to virtue (Wiesner 161). Both women use the prevailing opinion that women should be virtuous and emphasize that learning leads to virtue, in this way arguing that they should be permitted to be educated because they

would in so doing enhance their own virtue, thereby behaving as was proper for a woman.

Olwen Hufton addresses the question of how women came to writing. She argues that an early modern woman had two possible avenues into the world of literature and the arts: as a *salonnière*[14] or as a "corresponding gentlewoman" (Hufton 433). "Both courses implied self-realization through scholarship but, with some exceptions and speaking very generally, it was the second rather than the first who sought to publish" (Hufton 433). Hufton identifies Anna Maria van Schurmann as the model for a "corresponding gentlewoman" and both Sibylle Schwarz and Susanne Elisabeth Zeidler fit that model, but to a much smaller extent. Zeidler primarily corresponded with her brother, although there is some evidence she may also have corresponded with certain scholars of his acquaintance. Sibylle Schwarz primarily corresponded with her mentor Samuel Gerlach and with her elder brother Christian. There is also a letter to a woman who may have been her patron, or simply an understanding and supportive friend, Christina Maria von Sehbach. In the case of both women, we have no record of the reaction to their works immediately following publication, and in neither case is there correspondence in which the authors commented on their works. In the case of Zeidler, her works were published shortly after she married and there is scant evidence of her writing after the publication of the text. Schwarz died before her poetry could be published, and was thus not available to correspond with scholars who might have been inspired by her work.

The final question is why women chose lyric poetry. It is probable, as Virginia Cox indicated, that women were the ideal audience for vernacular poetry, because they

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14 Christiana Mariana von Ziegler (1695-1760) was probably the first woman of this type in Germany. There were a number of salons in eighteenth-century Berlin, but no true salons during the seventeenth century.

were able to read the vernacular, and thus drawn to writing it. In addition, women writing in Germany had the evidence of previous female authorship. Hrotsvit von Gandersheim had been identified as an author in 1501. Anna Maria van Schurmann was another likely source of inspiration, although her treatise on the suitability of education for women was not published until after Sibylle Schwarz had died. Schwarz was aware of the lists of worthy women which had been published by scholars following the model of Boccaccio, and was specifically aware of the famous women identified by Jacob Cats.

Another reason women were particularly drawn to compose poetry in this period was the central and vital social function it played in the seventeenth century, especially in the educated upper and middle classes (Stockinger 436; Dirk Niefanger; Segebrecht 23). If a humanist education was becoming more and more necessary for men desiring to serve the public good in political office, then poetry served as an efficient means to demonstrate rhetorical skill and learning. It was thus an important means for pursuing political appointments and finding new patrons or just simply to increase social prestige. Occasional poems also graced a wide variety of social occasions, such as weddings, funerals, graduations, and a number of representative state functions. In Germany, following Martin Opitz's revolutionary 1624 poetics, a growing number of occasional poems were written in German rather than Latin, although vernacular poetry did not surpass poetry written in Latin until the mid-eighteenth century (Jaumann 201).

A remarkable story illustrates the haphazard nature of the availability of women's writing, or indeed the writing created by any marginalized person. This particular story of two star-crossed lovers was not only well-known to contemporaries, but has also remained popular more than 300 years later because of its relation to the Hanoverian succession to the British throne as well as to Sophie von der Pfalz, mother of Georg Ludwig of Hannover and mother-in-law to the unfortunate Sophie Dorothee, Princess of

Hannover, and Aurora von Königsmarck, two notable seventeenth-century women. The love letters exchanged between Princess Sophie Dorothee of Hannover and Count Königsmarck serve as an example of "lived" Petrarchism in the terminology of Leonard Forster (Hoffmeister 609-610 n. 70). The story itself thus relates to two noblewomen whose lives are central to the understanding of seventeenth century women, and to the dynastic and political historical events at the end of the seventeenth and early eighteenth century. It illustrates two points significant to the lives of women in the seventeenth century and central to this dissertation. First, it demonstrates the different standards to which men and women were held, particularly in the nobility. Second, it demonstrates the significance of writing for women, both in the life of Sophie Dorothee, one of the main figures in the tale, and in that of her Lady-in-Waiting, Eleonore von dem Knesebeck.

In early July 1694, Count Philipp Christoph of Königsmark[15] disappeared after a late-night rendezvous with Sophie Dorothee, Princess Elector of Hannover, wife of Georg Ludwig of Hannover, later King George I of England. Their passionate love affair, which is documented in numerous letters exchanged between the two lovers from 1690 to 1694, was the source of gossip, speculation and political intrigue at the time and later inspired novelists and opera composers. In his analysis of the Petrarchan elements present in their correspondence, Leonard Forster portrays the all-consuming passion for each other that blinded the two lovers to the political aspirations and machinations that would

15 This story is recorded in Leonard Forster, "Gelebter Petrarkismus: Der Briefwechsel des Grafen Königsmarck mit der Prinzessin Sophie Dorothee von Hannover 1690-94," *Daphnis: Zeitschrift für Mittlere Deutsche Literatur* 9.3 (1980). It was also included in Paul Burg's text about the life of Aurora von Königsmarck, which includes a number of the letters exchanged, as well as the text written by Aurora von Königsmarck in an effort to have her brother released. She believed he was being held captive, and did not know he had been killed. Paul Burg, *Die schöne Gräfin Königsmarck: ein bewegtes Frauenleben um die Wende des 17. Jahrhunderts, Aus den Briefen, Akten, Urkunden und glaubwürdigen Überlieferungen* (Braunschweig: G. Westermann, 1919) 89 - 119.

prove their downfall (540). The story is an engrossing mixture of political intrigue, cruelty, forbidden passion and tragic loss. It fires the imagination and gives insight into the harsh situation of Sophie Dorothee, who was shunned by the court after fulfilling her biological duty and delivering two healthy children for the crown prince. The letters form an important part of the literary landscape in late seventeenth century Germany, even though the two lovers meant them only for each other's eyes.

Sophie Dorothee was the daughter of Georg Wilhelm of Hannover and Eleonore D'Olbreuse, a Huguenot from the lower nobility (Heuvel 97). Sophie von der Pfalz had originally been betrothed to Georg Wilhelm, but the latter, wishing to retain his freedom as a single man, was able to negotiate that she would marry his younger brother, Ernst August, instead (Heuvel 95). This exchange was made with the promise that Georg Wilhelm would never marry, and that Ernst August and his children would be the sole inheritors of his lands and titles (Heuvel 95). When Georg Wilhelm later did marry, both Sophie von der Pfalz and her husband Ernst August recognized the danger, and decided to betroth their eldest son to the daughter of Georg Wilhelm, in order to secure the inheritance (Heuvel 97). According to Christine van den Heuvel, it galled Sophie von der Pfalz, who was the daughter of the "Winter King" Frederick of the Palatine and Elisabeth, the daughter of King James I, and thus in the Stuart line to the British Throne, that her crown prince should be married to the daughter of a women from the lower nobility (97). She referred to Sophie Dorothee as "das Bastardlein," but agreed to the betrothal in the interests of inheritance and dynastic succession (Heuvel 97). In the words of Liselotte von der Pfalz, niece of Sophie von der Pfalz, the marriage of two people of differing social rank was like the mixture of "Mausdreck und Pfeffer" (Heuvel 100). Thus, Sophie Dorothee's marriage, like that of many noble women in the seventeenth century, was contracted without reference to desires of the bride or really to those of the

groom and was in the first instance a case of securing dynastic power and influence. Sophie Dorothee's role in the marriage was to produce legitimate heirs. As such, she was required to maintain an impeccable reputation for loyalty to her husband, and marital fidelity (Heuvel 98).

Both Sophie von der Pfalz and her niece, Liselotte von der Pfalz, had internalized the requirement for marital fidelity, even in the face of public infidelity on the part of their spouse. In the case of Sophie von der Pfalz, she knew that her husband had a number of mistresses, notably his official mistress, Klara Elisabeth von Platen, whom she allowed to tend to her husband on his deathbed in 1698, and to whom she demonstrated care and kindness when Klara Elisabeth herself suffered a stroke shortly after the death of Ernst August (Heuvel 106-107). Liselotte von der Pfalz was married to the homosexual brother of Louis XIV for political reasons, and later only saw her husband in the company of his "Buben" (boys) (Heuvel 98). Both women, therefore, could not countenance the liaison between Sophie Dorothee of Hannover and Philipp Christoph von Königsmarck, not least because it could have created doubt as to the legitimacy of the two children born to Sophie Dorothee: Georg August, later King George II of England, and Sophie Dorothea, mother of Frederick the Great of Prussia (Heuvel 97). In order to protect the honor of the House of Hannover, Philipp Christoph of Königsmarck was murdered and Sophie Dorothee was quietly divorced and sent to live out her days under house arrest, never to see or have contact with her children again (Heuvel 97).

But that is not where the story ends. In his description of the events surrounding the young nobleman's death and the imprisonment and divorce of the princess, Forster briefly mentions another character, Eleonore von dem Knesebeck. Barbara Becker-Cantarino further fleshes out Eleonore's story in *Der lange Weg zur Mündigkeit* (Becker-

Cantarino 231-232). Eleonore[16] was the lady-in-waiting, close friend and confidante of Sophie Dorothee. She had accompanied her from her parents' home and stood faithfully by her through all of the difficulties in Hannover. She helped keep the affair as secret as possible and assisted in conveying letters back and forth. After Sophie Dorothee's arrest and imprisonment, Eleonore was also sentenced to life-long solitary confinement, without access to friends or any source of comfort, not even books or writing materials. Three years after her imprisonment in the tower of Scharzfeld castle, after numerous failed escape attempts, she was finally able to outwit her captors and flee (Burg 119). Upon entering her cell, the guards were shocked to find the walls covered with writing – she had taken chalk and coal and written in every possible space, from top to bottom. In some cases it was clear that she wrote lying down on the floor. Although many of the writings were smudged and illegible, the guards were required to painstakingly record everything she had written for inclusion in the record of the case. What they found were sections of memoir-like prose, appeals to her accusers, but mostly spiritual poems, expressions of her despair and hope.

16 The story related here is a retelling of the tale as recorded by Becker-Cantarino in *Der lange Weg zur Mündigkeit* (München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1987) 231-32. Paul Burg reports the end of the affair as follows. "Von der Kurprinzessin wissen wir, daß sie zu Ahlden in strenger Haft saß und ihr Leben vertrauerte. Viel fürstliche und bürgerliche Federn, vorn Herzog Anton Ulrich von Braunschweig haben seitan phantasievoll ihr Erleben weitererzählt; ihre Schuld oder Nichtschuld hat noch keiner zu beweisen vermocht. Ihre Hofdame Fräulein von dem Knesebeck entwich spatter dem Kerker und hatte anscheinend Zusammenkünfte mit Aurora Königsmarck." Burg, *Die schöne Gräfin Königsmarck: Ein bewegtes Frauenleben um die Wende des 17. Jahrhunderts, Aus den Briefen, Akten, Urkunden und glaubwürdigen Überlieferungen* 119. Burg's statement that Sophie Dorothee's guilt or innocence could not be proven relates perhaps to there being a lack of evidence as to whether the two lovers, who so ardently expressed their feelings in writing, actually physically consummated the affair.

This story touches on several points that are of interest in my dissertation. It serves primarily as an illustrative example of the situation of women writing in the seventeenth century who, though locked away from public discourse, are struggling to create spaces where they can write and express themselves. This demonstrates on the one hand Eleonore's desire to record her personal musings and while away the time in captivity, but it is also evidence of a desire to enter public discourse in the appeals to her accusers. But this desire to enter public discourse is somewhat paradoxical, because she wrote the appeals to her accusers using temporary media (chalk and coal) on an immovable surface. She thus could not have assumed that the writing would be delivered to those she was addressing. She writes out of a simple desire to express herself in writing, without any thought that the writing would go any further than the walls of her cell. It is thus an expression of her innate desire to write, which connects all of the women writing poetry in the seventeenth century. The act of writing itself appears to have served a psychologically comforting function in this instance, much as the poems written by Susanna von Kuntsch on the deaths of her children also offered the opportunity to work through and express her grief (Linton 4),[17] and neither the lack of materials (paper, pen and ink), nor any contravening social injunctions against women writing kept Eleonore von dem Knesebeck from doing so.

This story also illustrates an extreme instance of a woman's writing that only survived by chance. The names of women writers in the seventeenth century were collected by the writers of catalogues of notable women, but the writings themselves have

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17 Linton is careful to note that the poems by Kuntsch were not intended primarily as a means to work through grief privately, but that they were also intended to be printed as part of a funeral booklet and distributed to a wider audience of family and friends. Anna Linton. *Poetry and Parental Bereavement in Early Modern Lutheran Germany.* Oxford: Oxford UP, 2008) 4-5.

in many cases been lost (Carrdus "Women's Writing" 885). One of the primary printed sources for women's writing in this period are the funeral booklets which accompanied the death of friends, spouses, or children and to which it was appropriate for women to contribute verses (Linton 6; Carrdus "Women's Writing" 885). Becker-Cantarino sees in Eleonore von dem Knesebeck the embodiment of all of the nameless and unknown women who might have reached for the pen in their quest for freedom from oppression (231), but whose works are lost to us because they were never published, printed or collected. Just as Eleonore von dem Knesebeck wrote simply out of an innate desire to do so, without, one can imagine, any hope of that writing reaching a wider audience, the other women whose names have been carefully identified and collected and whose work is found hidden within the archives of long-unread funeral booklets and collections of hymns and other writings by "anonymous" strove to express their grief and their joy, their spiritual piety, and their feelings of friendship in a medium which was primarily the domain of men. The following *Forschungsbericht* demonstrates the efforts that have been made to uncover their writings in the last thirty years.

Female Authorship in the Seventeenth Century

In 1984, Jean Woods and Maria Fürstenwald completed a monumental project. Drawing primarily on the large number of catalogues of learned or notable women published in Germany in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, they compiled a bibliographic lexicon of over 700 women active in the arts and literature between 1580 and 1720 (Woods and Fürstenwald IX- XI). Each entry includes information as to the precise area in which a woman was active (art, poetry, music, etc.) as well as a complete bibliographic entry of primary and secondary literature available about the woman. The current provenance of extant works was included when possible, but in many cases they

could only either include the titles of the works as found in the older catalogues or simply list a woman's name and note that she was considered exceptionally erudite or learned (Woods and Fürstenwald IX-XI). In an effort to create as exhaustive a list of notable female artists, writers, musicians, writers and intellectuals, it was not always possible to independently prove or disprove each claim made concerning the women, allowing certain minor factual errors[18] to creep in. These are far outweighed by the benefit of this lexicon, which provides scholars an invaluable resource in the study of women's contribution to the arts and literature in Germany in this period, and is a necessary starting point for anyone wishing to explore the extent of women's contributions to the arts in this period.

The seventeenth century witnessed a considerable amount of female participation in the arts. In order to gain insight into the extent of female participation in literary endeavors and their period of activity, I compiled the names of all of the women listed under the rubric "Dichtung," focusing in this manner specifically on women writing poetry, both secular and sacred, and including hymnody. This resulted in a list of 328 names, which I then further subdivided by class (dividing women into the categories "Noble" and "Non-Noble") and time-period of contribution. Rather than create a chart

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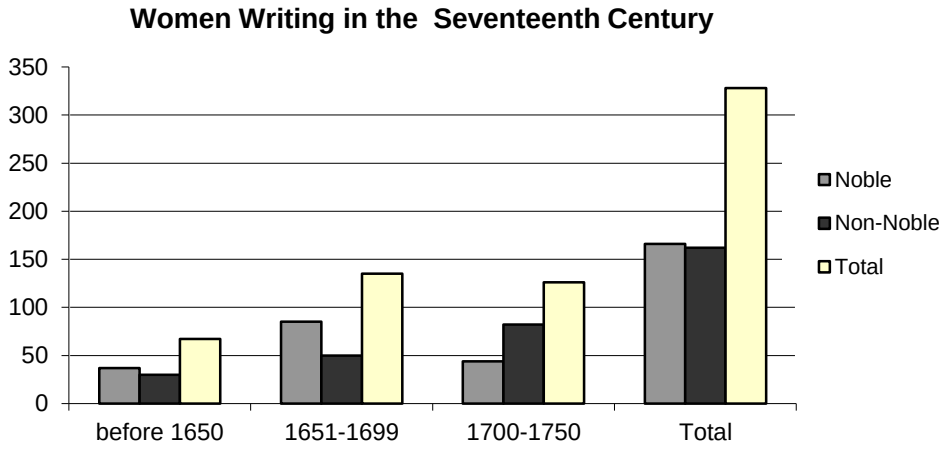
18 For example, the entry for Susanne Elisabeth Zeidler incorrectly notes that she translated certain letters from the French for her brother. It has since been determined that this translation was actually done by her younger sister. Cornelia Niekus Moore, ed., *Jungferlicher Zeitvertreiber: Das ist allerhand deudsche Gedichte/ bey häußlicher Arbeit/ und stiller Einsamkeit verfertiget und zusammen getragen von Susannen Elisabeth Zeidlerin* (Bern, Berlin, Bruxelles, Frankfurt a.M., New York, Wien: Peter Lang, 2000). Susanne Elisabeth had previously been listed as the translator in Christian Franz Paullini's *Das hoch- und wohlgelahrte teutsche Frauenzimmer. Nochmals mit mercklichen Zusatz vorgestellet*, Franckfurth und Leipzig, MDCCV. This information was subsequently copied by numerous other authors, whose works were then used as the source for the entry. Woods and Fürstenwald, *Schriftstellerinnen, Künstlerinnen und gelehrte Frauen des deutschen Barock: ein Lexikon*.

listing each year individually and recording the number of women active in that year, I chose the years 1650, 1700 and 1750 as arbitrary divisions in an effort to see the broader trends. Listing each year individually would have met with a number of challenges, not least that the listings for some women included only the years they lived, rather than the date of publication or writing of their work. The result of my analysis is Graph 1, which follows.



Graph 1: Women Writing in the Seventeenth Century[19]

The total number of known female authors in this period, as mentioned above, was 328. Although the number of female writers was not very great in comparison to the

19 An interesting aspect visually demonstrated by Graph 1, is the percentage of change in the numbers of non-noble and noble writers. In the first phase, there is an almost even split, with approximately 55% of the women who write coming from the nobility and 45% not. In the second, there is a slight increase in the percentage of nobles who participate, up to 63%. Then, in the final stage, non-noble women take over as the majority and women of noble provenance make up only 35% of the total number of women writing.

number of male authors in the period, it was larger than expected.[20] The graph shows a marked change in the number of women active in the first half of the century and the second, when the number almost doubled, going from a total of 67 women to a total of 135 women. The second period, between 1651 and 1699, is clearly the peak of activity. The early eighteenth century then shows a slight numerical decrease.[21] It is noteworthy that the number of non-noble women writing increases steadily throughout the period, while the number of noble women peaks in the second period and then drops sharply in the third. Although noble women would have had the greatest means to publish and also the greatest social protection, which explains their numbers in the first two periods, I believe that they were also the first to come under strong scrutiny during the backlash against female authorship in the late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century.

Female readership and authorship rose dramatically beginning in the mid-seventeenth century, resulting in part from greater levels of literacy[22] and the emphasis on vernacular literature noted above. In Germany, the middle of the seventeenth century

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20 Helen Watanabe O'Kelly estimates that only about 5-10% of the populace in Germany was literate in this period, although she makes note of that the definition of "literacy" is not straight-forward. She expresses surprise that women were able to write at all, "[g]iven the difficulties faced by sixteenth- and seventeenth-century women who wanted to write." Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly, "Women's Writing in the Early Modern Period," *A History of Women's Writing in Germany, Austria and Switzerland*, ed. Jo Catling (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2000) 29.

21 Because of population changes in the period, that slight numerical decrease may mask an even more drastic percentage decrease of the number of women active in contrast to male participation.

22 The increase in literacy is due in part to the Protestant Reformation, which emphasized universal literacy as a means of private Bible study and worship. "Protestants eagerly multiplied vernacular Bibles and urged that all boys and girls be educated to vernacular literacy so that they could read the Bible directly and model their lives on it." Stephen Ozment, *The Age of Reform, 1250-1550: An Intellectual and Religious History of Late Medieval and Reformation in Europe* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1980) 201-02.

marks the beginning of a sharp rise in female literary production (see Graph 1, page 19). The year 1650, the mid-point of the century, saw the publication of at least three female poets well known to us today. Anne Bradstreet, the first New World poet, had a collection of poems published in England by her brother-in-law, John Woodbridge, entitled "The Tenth Muse." Anna Ovena Hoyers published a collection of her poems in Amsterdam, and Sibylle Schwarz entered literary history with the posthumous Gdansk publication of her poetry collection, "Deutsche Poëtische Gedichte."

SIBYLLE SCHWARZ

In this section I provide a survey of the literature surrounding Sibylle Schwarz. I first establish the background of what is known about Schwarz herself, her family and the social milieu within which she lived and wrote. I then survey the literature written about Schwarz. I also provide a brief introduction to her published work, *Deutsche Poëtische Gedichte*.

Biography of Sibylle Schwarz

Sibylle Schwarz was born into a prominent family in Greifswald, a hanseatic city in *Vorpommern* (Western Pomerania), on February 14, 1621. She was the youngest daughter of Christian Schwarz and Regina Schwarz née Völschow. Both her father and mother came from well-connected families in the city and this contributed to the family's status. Christian, who had studied law in Greifswald, Helmstedt and Jena, was a member of the city council, a local judge, and a member of Duke Bogislav XIV's Privy Council. He was elected mayor of Greifswald in 1631 and worked desperately to shield the city from the worst effects of wartime occupation. In spite of his efforts, the city was

plundered by first the Imperial and then the Swedish troops and its population dwindled from an estimated 6,100 in 1618 to around 2,700 at the end of the war. [23]

In spite of its privileged status, even the Schwarz family suffered. The family was forced to host Swedish officers in their home[24] on Bader Street in central Greifswald, and their livestock had to make way for the soldiers' horses. Around 1631 Christian Schwarz purchased a small property in Fretow[25] in the countryside between Greifswald and Stralsund, where the family could retreat in order to avoid the hardships of a city serving as a military garrison.

Direct records pertaining to Schwarz's life during this period are scarce. Augustin von Balthasar's collection Vitae Pomeranorum, housed in the University library in Greifswald, contains hand-written and printed records about Sibylle Schwarz, her family, and the persons mentioned in her poems. The funeral sermon upon her death by Christoph Hagen as well as the invitation to the academic community to attend her funeral by Balthasar Rhaw contain brief biographical sketches. The funeral sermon by

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23 The Thirty Years War was a series of four different conflicts that raged in the German-speaking lands between 1618 and 1648. The early years of the war did not affect Mecklenburg or Pomerania, but in May 1627, Wallenstein occupied the Mecklenburg duchies and finally laid siege to Stralsund, just 40 km NW of Greifswald, in May of 1628. The siege was ultimately unsuccessful, but the city sent pleas of help to both the Swedish and Danish kings, resulting in the entrance of Sweden into the conflict. King Gustav Adolph garrisoned troops in Stralsund, gaining his first foothold on German soil. In 1629 he occupied the island of Rügen, from whence he could launch an attack into German lands. In June 1630 Gustav Adolph landed a small army on the island of Usedom and began his invasion. Despite many attempts to recapture it, Greifswald remained in Swedish control until 1815, when it was ceded to Prussia.

24 The house believed to have belonged to the Schwarz family still stood in Baderstraße as late as 2003, but was unoccupied. It is just down the street from the central marketplace and St. Nikolai Cathedral, where the family worshipped and where Sibylle was buried.

25 This property played a significant role in Schwarz's writing and was a beloved retreat for her until it was burned by the Swedish troops in 1637.

Moevius Völschow upon the death of Sibylle's father in 1648 also provides insight into her family life.

The 1638 Hagen sermon, "Himmlische Hochzeit-Predigt auf der Seligen und fröhlichen Heimfahrt Der Jungfrauen Sibyllen Schwartzin Begräbnis 3. August 1638," emphasizes her virtue, as well as that she was a dutiful daughter. Hagen notes that she assisted her sisters in running the household upon the death of her mother from the plague in 1630 and that she also assisted her father with his correspondence. He highlights her domestic ability as well as her knowledge of household economy by reporting that she wrote a cookbook in addition to her many poems. This cookbook has not survived. The sermon reports that she first began writing poetry at the age of 10, shortly after the loss of her mother.

She first came to public prominence in 1634, with the publication a poem on the arrival of Prince Ernst von Croy[26] to Greifswald in order to study at the university. Ziefle writes that this was the first poem printed, although several are dated earlier. The earliest dated poem in her work is November 1633, when Schwarz was only twelve. Specific dating is difficult, because she did not write the dates on most of her poems. In some cases, it is possible to link the poem to an external circumstance, such as a marriage or death, and thereby date it.

Schwarz lived in or around Greifswald for her entire life, from 1621 to 1638. Her father and brother supported her in her desire to write poetry and she also received support from her mentor, Samuel Gerlach, who had moved to the region in 1637. He

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26 Ernst von Croy, b. 1610, was the nephew of the final Pomeranian Duke, Bogislav XIV. He was not able to inherit the Pomeranian Duchy, but did inherit the Lutheran Bishopric of Cammin. This was ceded to Brandenburg as part of the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. Herzog Ernst later donated the Croy Tapestry to the university, for which he is still honored.

supplied her with copies of Martin Opitz's work and the two were in discussion about publishing her works shortly before her sudden death on her sister's wedding day in 1638.

The Social Milieu of Sibylle Schwarz

Several people in Schwarz's circle of friends were significant in her poetic endeavor. The first and most instrumental in this particular publication was Samuel Gerlach, who was her mentor and later editor of her works. The second is an unknown H. M. Z., whose initials refer to a man, who could be Herr M. Z. or Herr Magister Z. It has not been possible to find any archival information relating to this person. He may have been one of the servants in Schwarz's household, or a close family friend. The letters seem to indicate that he conveyed poems and correspondence back and forth between Schwarz and Gerlach and that he played an integral part in helping Schwarz locate poems to send to Gerlach. Thus, he might have been a close personal friend and confidant in her poetic endeavors, although it is impossible to establish his exact identity and relationship to her. In the letter dated April 10, 1637, Schwarz writes that she wrote certain poems in her own hand, but that she did not write the titles.[27] It is possible that H.M.Z. wrote the descriptive titles, but the letters themselves give no further information. Introductory letters precede the two early poems dedicated to Fretow. The first, dated November 1633, is addressed to her friends, the "Freunde und Mittgenieser" (friends and fellow enjoyers) of Fretowian Happiness.

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27 The poems under consideration here seem to be the two Fretow poems, because she mentions the three letters "H.L.G." and explains to Gerlach that they mean "Hilf Lieber Gott." (Help Dear God) The Fretow poems are the only two in her collection that begin with those letters. Both Fretow poems consist of an introductory letter (dated) and the poem itself. In both cases, the letters have titles describing the content of the poems and the poems themselves begin with H.L.G.

A brief glance through the occasional poems in Schwarz's work reveals several prominent Greifswald citizens, including university professors, students, and members of the nobility. Two university professors were well known to the Schwarz family and the recipients of dedicatory poems: Alexander Christian and Johann Schöner. Christian was a professor of logic and philosophy and Schöner was Professor of philosophy and medicine. Both men served as Rector of the university. Another prominent dedicatee was Michael Behm,[28] who was a student at the university and known to Schwarz in that capacity. She refers to Behm as a protector of her poems. Of her family, Schwarz was closest to her sister Emarentia and her brother Christian. It is Christian who offered to teach her Latin and who provided access to certain poetic works, such as the collected works of the Dutch writer Jacob Cats. In the opening letter dated July 24, 1637 to Gerlach, Schwarz wrote, "bin noch güngsten auß Jacobus Catzen Niederländischen sachen (dessen gantzes opus meinem Bruder zugeschickt) etwas zu verteutschen schlüßigk worden/" (Schwarz I: 3).

Schwarz also dedicated two of her poems to men in the ruling family of Pomerania. The first is Duke Bogislav XIV, in whose honor she composed two Epicedia. Ernst Bogislav von Croy was closely related to Duke Bogislav XIV. He was his nephew, son of the Duke's sister Anna. Ernst Bogislav was born in 1610 and was therefore 24 in 1634, when Sibylle Schwarz wrote the following poem to celebrate his arrival in Greifswald to study:

Als I. F. G. vohn Croja und Arschott zu Greiffswald/ Studierens halben/ angelanget (Schwarz II: J3r).

Komb/ fliehe durch die Stadt/ du schnelle Fama/ fliehe/

28 Behm participated in a dissertation defense in 1636.

sag unserm Pöbel an/ komb/ eilends komb/ und siehe
das Wunder der Natuhr/ den Printzen Wunders voll/
den billich unsre Welt zu schawen kommen soll!
dis ist ein Fürst/ der ja mit recht den Nahmen führet/
dem großer Ruhm und Lob vohr andern stets gebühret;
Er herrscht und wil nicht seyn beherrscht vohn Menschen Bein/
wil vohn dem Höchsten nuhr allein beherrschet seyn;
Er spottet gleichsahm nuhr die Kroon und Zepter tragen/
und lasset andere nach ihrem Drawen fragen;
die Tugend der er ist ergeben inniglich/
vohn keinem bösen Tuhn Ihn lässet fürchten sich.
So jemahls durch der Welt Beherrscherin/ die Tugend
beherrschet hat/ so tuhts die Zier und Bluhm der Jugend/
der Printz vohn Arischott/ der alles sich erbeut/
und willig giebet her/ ja selbst sein Land und Leut/
wenn Ihm nur ist vergunt/ den Künsten nach zu sezen/
und seinen/ freyen Sinn zuhr tugend anzuhezen.
So sey willkommen dan du unsers Landes Kroon
nicht deiner Anen mehr/ als unsrer Musen/ Sohn.

This poem indicates a number of things about Schwarz and her sensibilities: first, she is sensitive to the political reality of Greifswald and intent on showing due respect to members of the ruling family. Second, she shows an awareness of poetic tradition and custom and the ability to compose an apt welcoming poem, even without a personal acquaintance with the Prince. Her assertion that he is a son of the Muses derives not from any insight into his love of poetry, but is rather a customary topos that associated learning

and the Muses. Finally, it is an early indication, though subtly expressed, of her belief that the nobility of mind outweighs the nobility of blood. [29]

When considering the context of a work, it is vital to reflect upon the nature of and relationships between those who contribute dedicatory poems. Susanne Elisabeth Zeidler's work was preceded by dedicatory poems contributed primarily by family members and close friends, an indication that her work was perhaps primarily intended for distribution to family and friends, rather than wider circulation. In contrast, the men who contributed dedications to Sibylle Schwarz's work were scholars, primarily clergy, from the Gdansk literati. Although they clearly cannot directly be counted among Schwarz's personal circle, they nonetheless determine our reading of her work. The first contributor, Michael Albinus, was a pastor active in Gdansk. A student of Plavius, Albinus primarily published sacred poetry. Two other contributors, the pastor Erasmus Rothmaler and historian Joachim Pastorius, were also well-known and prolific authors in the city of Gdansk. Finally, the poet, rhetorician and professor Johann Peter Titz also contributed a poem at the beginning of the first volume. The only person for whom no further information can be found is Johann Reginchom, who, with Joachim Pastorius, was one of the two dedicators at the beginning of the second volume. The nature of this group indicates their likely association with Samuel Gerlach rather than Schwarz or her family.

Introduction to Work of Sibylle Schwarz

Gerlach did not publish the two volumes of her poetry until twelve years after her death, when they appeared in a two-volume edition. No specific reason is given for the

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29 She expresses this idea more forcefully in the two poems against the "Ignoble Nobility": "An Den unadelichen Adel" (Vol. I: 55) and "Poëten gehen dem unadelichen Adel weit vor" (Vol. II: H3r).

delay, but several possibilities present themselves. The most prominent and likely are the difficulties presented by the Thirty Years War, which was not concluded until the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. It is also possible that Gerlach was hampered by financial considerations or because of personal difficulties. Her father died in 1648 and Judith Tancke,[30] to whom so many poems were dedicated, died shortly after the publication on November 9, 1650. The publication took place two months after the birth of Gerlach's daughter Martha Sibylla on May 8, 1650. In the foreword to the second volume, Gerlach writes that the reason many of the poems seem to be out of order in relation to the first volume is that he received those poems much later (Schwarz):(iv). The dedicatory sonnet to her siblings reads, "Euer ist eß, das Ihr sehet/ vohn Euch kam eß erst zu mihr " (Schwarz II:):(ii), which indicates that these poems may have been collected and sent to him by her brothers and sisters. They were certainly not prepared and sent by Schwarz herself.

Schwarz's poems were published posthumously in two volumes in 1650.[31] The first appeared in July and the second in September of that year.[32] Georg Rheten's widow

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30 Judith married David Mevius, a well-known Stralsund jurist and Swedish diplomat, in early 1638 and died on November 9, 1650. The couple moved to Stralsund in 1638, where David began his work as the Syndic of the city.

31 There are six exemplars remaining: one each in the Ernst-Moritz-Arndt University Library at Greifswald, the city archives of Stralsund, the Herzog August Library at Wolfenbüttel, the British Museum, the Library in Gdansk, and Yale's University Library.

32 These dates are based on the dedications preceding each volume. The dedicatee of the first volume was Queen Christina of Sweden and the close of the dedication reads "Geschriben zu Osterwyk im Danziger Werder/ den 18. Julij N. Kal. war der Tag Christinen/ nach M. Fuhrmans Kalender/ dises 1650. Jahres" (written in Osterwyk in the Danzig Werder on July 18. This date is the Day of Christina, according to M. Fuhrman's calender of this, the 1650th year) (Schwarz). The second volume was dedicated to all of Schwarz's surviving siblings. Her eldest sister, Regina, was listed first and the dedication was written on Regina's day, September 7, 1650. Gerlach dedicated the Sonnet cycle he

published both in the city of Gdansk, near Osterwyck, where Gerlach lived at the time. The first volume was dedicated to Christina, Queen of Sweden, and the second to Sibylle's family. Gerlach prepared both. In the foreword to the first volume, he is careful to note that these poems were copied exactly as she left them, word for word, and not altered at all, even when he could not quite make out the sense of what she was trying to express (Schwarz I: a4r).

Altogether, Schwarz's extant work consists of 102 poems, two dramas, four prose introductions, and three letters. Most significantly it includes the prose eclogue "Faunus," the first prose eclogue written by a female writer in German. Gerlach included the three letters, which precede the first volume, in order, as he wrote in the preface to Volume I (Schwarz), to demonstrate her proficiency in prosaic writing. The poems themselves show her ability in most of the poetic genres typical of the period. It is a remarkable output for any writer in this period, but particularly so for a young woman who died at the age of seventeen.

Early Reception History of Sibylle Schwarz

Upon its publication in 1650, the work of Sibylle Schwarz probably aroused a certain amount of interest, if not for the poet herself, for her editor, Samuel Gerlach. The two volumes were published in Gdansk, a significant cultural and literary center at that time. Gerlach's connection to a wider circle of Gdansk intellectuals is clear in the congratulatory poems at the beginning of each volume. These attest to that Gerlach had shared the collection with noted members of the Gdansk intelligentsia, including Michael Albinus, who was a follower of Plavius, and Johann Reginchom.

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appended to the second volume to his friend, Peter Vanselau. The dedicatory poem was written on the day of St. Peter's Chains, August 1, 1650.

Further evidence that the publication did not go unnoticed is that her name was mentioned by almost all of the catalogues of learned women that appeared towards the end of the seventeenth century (e.g. Eberti and Paullini, etc.) and she was also prominently mentioned in Daniel Georg Morhof's *Unterricht von der teutschen Sprache und Poesie, deren Ursprung, Fortgang und Lehrsätzen*, first published in Kiel in 1682, and in Zedler's *Universallexikon*, published between 1732 and 1754. Nevertheless, as is the case with the praise heaped on women by Boccaccio mentioned in the previous section, the fact that she is mentioned does not necessarily indicate that men had read her work, but simply that they were including information read in the works of their predecessors. It nonetheless shows that her name was familiar as one of the stars of German female learnedness.

Recent Scholarship Concerning Sibylle Schwarz

Heide Wunder has noted that recording notable women and especially those who lived and worked in the early modern period is not an invention of the late twentieth century. [33] It is instead the case that their works and those that recorded their contribution were lost or forgotten for a time. In much the same way, Sibylle Schwarz's works have received renewed and invigorated attention since the 1970s, when Helmut Ziefle wrote his dissertation about Sibylle Schwarz and published a facsimile edition of her works.

Sibylle Schwarz is mentioned in the textbook *Barock* by Dirk Niefanger. Niefanger includes her in the list of authors surrounding Opitz (Niefanger 110). She was

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33 Indeed the amount of secondary mentions of Schwarz in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is quite extensive, and work is done on her throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Extensive bibliographical references are available in Woods/Fürstenwald, Dünnhaupt and a 2003 entry in the *Bio-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon* (BBKL).

a devoted follower of Opitz's reform, and, as Niefanger points out, her works were published in Gdansk, a city in which Opitz lived and worked the last few years of his life. It is also the workplace of Johann Titz, who, although he certainly did not know her personally, contributed a laudatory poem at the beginning of the work. (Niefanger 110-11)

Recent scholarship has focused primarily on rediscovering Schwarz, although a few notable works have explored her poetry in greater depth. In comparison to other female authors such as Caritas Pirckheimer (1467-1532), Duchess Elisabeth from Braunschweig-Lüneburg (1510 – 1558), Anna Ovena Hoyers (1584 – 1655), Anna Maria van Schurmann (1610 – 1678), Catharina von Greiffenberg (1633 – 1694) and Margaretha Susanna von Kuntsch (1651 – 1717), far less has been done concerning Schwarz, and consists only of occasional passing references. In 1922, Kurt Gassen noted her uniqueness as a female prodigy, and wrote a monograph on her life and works that has had considerable influence on later scholars. Ziefle, in his 1975 dissertation, followed Gassen closely, but also emphasized her reliance on tradition and the imitative nature of some of her verse. He materially added to the Schwarz scholarship by meticulously researching the sources for each of her poems. Barbara Becker-Cantarino, who included Schwarz in her discussion of women's long road to emancipation, noted that the strength and individuality of her voice was of utmost importance. Like Susan Clark, Becker-Cantarino preferred the more "natural" poems over those heavy with mythological references.

For Petra Ganzenmueller, who was also examining Schwarz in light of female emancipation, it was vital to note that it was Schwarz herself who speaks in all of her poems. However, insisting on the single-voicedness of Schwarz obscures the nuances of her work, and much of what is of interest to feminist scholars. It is also a difficult

position to defend, as the gender of the speaker in the poems shifts between a male and female voice. Dirk Niefanger emphasizes the constructed nature of Schwarz's persona and derives from that theory the idea that Gerlach must either have helped her to write much of the poetry or written it himself. Erika Greber demonstrates perceptively that too much focus on the "Erlebnis" element will distort the reader's perception of the constructed love discourse. She also notes the homoerotic readings possible in the sonnet cycle and Judith Tanck poems.

SUSANNE ELISABETH ZEIDLER

A Forschungsbericht of recent scholarship concerning Susanne Elisabeth Zeidler informs her biography, as narrated below. As with Schwarz, there is very little recent scholarship, although it is increasing in volume. There are few monographs, but, thanks to the work primarily of Cornelia Niekus Moore, more information is coming to light about Zeidler and her work, and a number of more recent works concerning female authorship in the seventeenth century make passing reference to her work, including an article by Anna Carrdus about women's writing between 1520 and 1720 which makes brief mention of Zeidler (Carrdus "Women's Writing" 885-890).

Biography of Susanne Elisabeth Zeidler

Susanne Elisabeth Zeidler[34] was born in 1657, the third of five children born to pastor Gottfried Zeidler (1623-1699) of Fienstedt. Her siblings are: Gottfried (b. March 1, 1651), Johannes Gottfried (b. April 11, 1655), Margaretha (born Oct. 18, 1664, d. Nov. 19, 1664), Margarita (b. October 5, 1667, d. Dec. 16, 1670), Justina (b. Jan. 30, 1671) and

34 The following information concerning Susanne Elisabeth Zeidler's biography is drawn from Moore, ed., *Jungferlicher Zeitvertreiber: das ist allerhand deudsche Gedichte/ bey häußlicher Arbeit/ und stiller Einsamkeit verfertiget und zusammen getragen von Susannen Elisabeth Zeidlerin* XI.

Regina[35] (b. March 29, 1673).Her second eldest brother, born only two years before Zeidler, Johann Gottfried, was an active poet, [36] reluctant pastor, [37] satirist and philosopher. The two were born only two years apart and were quite close. The primary sources of information concerning Susanne Zeidler's early life are his writings, entries into the church register, and the few pieces of biographical information that can be gleaned from her text.

Zeidler and all of her siblings were born in Fienstedt. Her father was also the son of a pastor. His mother, Susanna Zeidler nee Petrejusin, was the subject of one of Zeidler's Epicedia. Ordained in Eisleben in 1650, he shortly thereafter obtained the pastorate at Fienstedt. Zeidler's mother's name was Margarita or Margarethe (maiden name unknown). Neither she nor any of Zeidler's siblings save her brother Johann Gottfried appear in any way in the collection of poems.

In Zeidler's discussion of her reasons for writing, she notes that Fienstedt was quite small and the society available to her limited. Even today, the town has a population of less than 250 and consists of several large farm houses and a church surrounding the fountain in the main square. The relative solitude of Fienstedt plays a role in her work, because she reports that she began to write out of loneliness and as a way to remain in

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35 In their entry for Susanne Elisabeth Zeidler, Woods and Fürstenwald indicate (in keeping with the entry in Zedler's *Universallexikon*) that Zeidler was the translator of several letters from the French for her brother. Niekus Moore has demonstrated that these letters were actually translated by the youngest sister, Regina.

36 He was crowned poet laureate in Wittenberg in 1678.

37 Zeidler returned to Fienstedt in 1679 to serve as substitute pastor for his father, who had gone blind in 1674. Upon his father's death he was offered the post permanently, but refused because "er das Beichtwesen und die libros symbolicos nebst den Kirchen=Regiment nicht leiden können" Cornelia Niekus Moore, *Jungferlicher Zeitvertreiber: Das ist allerhand deudsche Gedichte bey haußlicher Arbeit und stiller Einsamkeit verfertiget und zusammen getragen von Susannen Elisabeth Zeidlerin* (Bern, Switzerland: Peter Lang, 2000) XXII-XXIII.

contact with her friends, two of the daughters of the pastor in the neighboring town of Beesenstedt (about 12 km NW of Fienstedt).

Susanne Elisabeth Zeidler was closest to her brother, Johann Gottfried, a renowned satirist. He was crowned poet laureate in Wittenberg in 1678, for which she wrote a congratulatory poem. He was clearly impressed with her ability and tried to convince her to be published. She demurred, but finally relented in 1684 and allowed him to collect and publish her works as a wedding gift to her. She demonstrates her humility and protects herself from criticism by identifying her brother and her friends as the true reason for publishing her work. The work itself forms the argument against accepting her statements at face value, because after she "relented" and agreed for her poems to be published, the publication was fully hers –neither Johann Gottfried's nor the printer's name appears on the title page. Although the dedicatory poems are written exclusively by men, the introduction, her choice of person to whom to dedicate the work itself, and the frontispiece establish an entirely female context. This publication, although probably not intended for a large audience, was not offered shyly or humbly. She carefully explains that she is publishing not for herself, but for others: at her brother's request, as a parting gift for family and friends. But yet the title image is of herself and another young woman studying at the feet of Pallas Athena. Although they are enclosed in the domestic sphere, they are in the presence of a deity, a place of powerful learning. Zeidler turns convention on its head in other ways, as well. For example, she takes the "*Beatus Ille*" motif and turns it upside down by having the nymphs praise the glories of city life. Coridon[38] begins by asking their opinion and ends by choosing his own lot, but they still have the most powerful words.

38 The name Corydon (also Coridon) is traditional to pastoral poetry and appeared in the "Eclogues" of Virgil.

Social Milieu of Susanne Elisabeth Zeidler

Zeidler's social contacts were far more limited than those of Schwarz and this is attested by the names of the addressees of her poems. Other than the 1681 panegyric to Frederick William the Great Elector, the dedicatory poem to Hedwig Barbara von Oppen née von Mörner, the famous "Rhapsodius" poem, and two congratulatory poems, all of the occasional poems are written to family or to the two Sikelius sisters (the "Sikellinen"). She and her brother Johann Gottfried were close, so she might have had contact to some of his friends from Wittenberg, Leipzig and Halle.

Introduction to Work of Susanne Elisabeth Zeidler

Although her brother had been trying to convince her to publish since 1678, Zeidler did not agree to allow her poems to be put into print until she was to be married. She prepared the manuscript as a gift to her brother, who in turn published it. It was actually published in 1686, two years after her wedding (Moore, "Introduction" V). According to the entry about Zeidler in Zedler's *Universallexikon*, her collection was published in the city of Leipzig (Zedler 61/688). Neither the name nor location of the publisher is included on the frontispiece.

Early Reception History of Susanne Elisabeth Zeidler

Like Schwarz, Zeidler's name also appeared in many of the early catalogues of women, although she did not enjoy quite the fame of Schwarz. Zeidler was not mentioned by Morhof, and received only a brief mention in Zedler's *Universallexikon*, in which she is erroneously named as the sister who translated letters from the French into the German for her brother. Zedler writes that her brother Johann Gottfried was known as a writer of several texts. Zedler mentions her as follows:

> Zeidlerin oder Zeitlerin, (Susanne Elisabeth) Gottfried Zeidlers, Pfarrers zu Finnstädt (sic) in der Graffschafft Mannsfeld, Tochter, und des durch etliche Schrifften nicht unbekannten Johann Gottfried Zeidlers Schwester. Sie war ein gelehrtes und qualificirtes Frauenzimmer, so zugleich eine gute Poetin gewesen. Sie präsentirte Gr. Churfürstl. Durchlaucht zu Brandenburg , als Dieselben 1681 den Huldigungs-Eyd zu Halle übernahmen, ein nettes Gratulations=Carmen. Ueberdis ist auch von ihr im Jahr 1686 ihr Jungferlicher Zeit-Vertreib, aus allerhand vermischten Gedichten bestehend, in 8 zu Leipzig herausgekommen. Der Französischen Sprache ist sie vollkommen mächtig gewesen, massen man hin und wieder Brieffe von ihr, so sie aus dem Französischen übersetzet, findet, welchen Uebersetzungen der Weltberühmte Thomasius in seinem Raisonement, so in der Vorrede von ihres Bruders, Johann Gottfried Zeidlers, Pantomysterii, §. 19 zu finden, in einen grossen Beyfall giebet. Erdmann Neumeister in Dissert. de Poet. Germ. p. 117. Pasch in Gynae. Doct. p. 6011. 61. Paullini Hoch- und Wohlgelahrtes Deutsches Frauenzimmer, p. 163 (Zedler 61/688). [39]

Woods and Fürstenwald follow Zedler and include Zeidler as the translator of French letters included in Johann Gottfried Zeidler's *Pantomysterium*. J.G. Zeidler wrote this study of divining rods and had it published in 1700, after he had left the pastorate in Fienstedt in order to work in Halle (Moore, "Introduction" XXIII). Cornelia Niekus Moore has pointed out that it is far more likely that younger sister Regina Zeidler assisted her brother rather than Susanne Elisabeth, who was at that time married and living in Detershagen, at some distance from Halle (Moore, "Introduction" XXIII).

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39 This refers to volume and page numbers in the facsimile of the print edition available online. Zedler, *Grosses vollständiges Universallexikon aller Wissenschaften und Künste*.

It is more important to note, as Zedler does, that Zeidler presented the Elector of Brandenburg with a laudatory poem on the occasion of his visit to Halle in 1681. Zedler also notes the publication of her collection of poems in Leipzig in 1686, although he makes no comment about the literary quality of that text. He does note that she was said to have been a "good poet," *eine gute Poetin.*

Recent Scholarship Concerning Susanne Elisabeth Zeidler

While there is very little recent work concerning Sibylle Schwarz, there is even less concerning Susanne Elisabeth Zeidler. Cornelia Niekus Moore has been the most important figure in recent Zeidler scholarship. She published a reprint edition of Zeidler's *Jungferlicher Zeitvertreiber* including a brief introduction to the author and her work in 2000. She also published a separate analysis of Zeidler's occasional poetry.[40] I have discovered no other authors who treat Zeidler individually, although her poem to Rhapsodius[41] has been reprinted and discussed a number of times because of its importance in demonstrating the strategies of female self-representation and a woman's defense of her right to compose poetry.

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40 Cornelia Niekus Moore, ""Meiner Glückwünschenden Lieder Gedichte," Susanna Elisabeth Zeidler's Occasional Poetry," *Brückenschläge, eine barocke Festgabe für Ferdinand Van Inge*n, eds. Martin Bircher and Guillaume van Gemert, vol. 23, Chloe: Beihefte Zum Daphnis (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1995).

41 "Beglaubigung der Jungfer Poeterey". See, for example: S. Skowronek, *Autorenbilder* (Königshausen & Neumann, 2000) 150 and Gisela Brinker-Gabler, *Deutsche Dichterinnen vom 16. Jahrhundert bis heute: Gedichte und Lebensläufe* (Cologne: Anaconda, 2007) 99.

CHAPTER 3: SELF

Wenn Weiber Reime schreiben
ist doppelt ihre Zier,
denn ihres Mundes Rose
bringt nichts als Rosen für.
-Friedrich von Logau (1604-1655)

Doch daß/ was Naso hat geschrieben/
Was Aristoteles gesagt/
Ist heut bey uns noch überblieben/
Und wird auch nicht ins Grab gejagt/
Sie leben stets und sind gestorben/
Und haben ewigs Lob erworben.
-Sibylle Schwarz, 1621-1638

This chapter explores the poetic and aesthetic conceptualization of themselves as women and as poets evident in the work of Sibylle Schwarz and Susanne Elisabeth Zeidler. In it I strive to demonstrate both what connects these two writers, and what separates them. I attempt to trace the changes in attitudes toward women writers that took place over the course of the seventeenth century by analyzing the subconscious internalization and reproduction of self-limitation by both women as expressed in their texts.

As noted in the introduction, poetry satisfied a number of social needs in the period. In the humanist tradition, a poet was a learned man, and the poetry he wrote was

highly rhetorical and conventional. Early modern poets, inspired by the writings of Quintus Horatius Flaccus (65 BCE – 8 BCE), chose to both benefit and please[42] their readers. By this I mean that poets in this period were not writing poetry solely for their own amusement or as a way to express their experiences or innermost desires and fears. Rather, they relied on rhetorical devices and commonplaces (*loci communes*), which they artfully combined in new and surprising ways to create the desired effect in their reader. This does not, however, preclude the inclusion of autobiographical detail, nor does it necessarily signify that the poet did or did not personally agree with the sentiments he or she chose to include in a poem.

The poem "An Sich"[43] by Paul Fleming can serve as an example of a poem that seems at first glance by the modern reader an intimate, personal poem, but is simultaneously a rhetorically-constructed expression of conventional ideas. In the same way the works of Margaretha Susanna von Kuntsch first appear to be intimate expressions of her grief at the loss of her children, and a private means to work through that grief, but this was neither their sole nor even primary purpose in the seventeenth-century understanding of poetry as public self-representation (Linton 4). While the case can be made that Kuntsch did indeed feel great sorrow and loss at the death of her children, and her poems contain details that are not drawn from rhetorical common-places but express the verifiable reality of her situation, they are clearly meant to be circulated among a wider audience and not kept solely for herself, because they "directly

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42 Horace wrote, "aut prodesse uolunt aut delectare poetae" in the *Ars Poetica*, line 333. C.O. Brink, *Horace on Poetry: The 'Ars Poetica'* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

43 "An Sich" was posthumously published in Fleming's *Teutsche Poemata* in 1646, but was written in 1640. Ulrich Maché and Volker Meid, eds., *Gedichte des Barock* (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2000) 365.

[address] friends and relatives who offer well-meaning but inadequate words of advice" (Linton 4). Similarly, although Fleming's poem is addressed to himself in the title, it was published for a wider audience and is therefore meant as a public, didactic and representative expression. Fleming appears to be writing about the characteristics he believes he himself should exhibit, but this poem also expresses a general ideal, and is devoid of clearly personal, unique expression. It is a conventional expression of the neo-Stoic worldview espoused by many during the Thirty Years' War and is as such a collection of the topoi of acceptance and stoicism recommended to those in public life, but also to all as a means of withstanding the personal difficulties faced in the exigencies of war and life. For the modern reader this establishes a paradigm for poems that would otherwise, anachronistically, be read purely as personal, intimate expressions, but in the context of the seventeenth century also have a didactic and representative function.

An Sich.

SEY dennoch unverzagt. Gieb dennoch unverlohren.
Weich keinem Glücke nicht. Steh' höher als der Neid.[44]
Vergnüge dich an dir/ und acht es für kein Leid /
hat sich gleich wieder dich Glück'/ Ort/ und Zeit verschworen.
Was dich betrübt und labt/ halt alles für erkohren.
Nim dein Verhängnüß an. Laß' alles unbereut.
Thu/ was gethan muß seyn/ und eh man dirs gebeut.
Was du noch hoffen kanst/ das wird noch stets gebohren.
Was klagt/ was lobt man doch? Sein Unglück und sein Glücke

[44] The figure of Neid is commonly used to embody the criticism faced by poets and men in public life. Neid is also a frequently recurring figure in the writings of Sibylle Schwarz.

Ist ihm ein ieder selbst. Schau alle Sachen an.
Diß alles ist in dir/ laß deinen eiteln Wahn /
  und eh du förder gehst/ so geh' in dich zu rücke.
Wer sein selbst Meister ist/ und sich beherrschen kan /
Dem ist die weite Welt und alles unterthan.
(Maché and Meid 58)

The poem is an exposition of the neo-Stoic *constantia* ideal, and argues that the highest good is for the poet to maintain inner equilibrium in the face of negative external forces. The final two lines demonstrate the universal nature of the sentiments expressed, and also their didactic purpose: "He who is master of himself, and can control himself, to him the wide world and all is subject" (Maché und Meid 58). The call for equilibrium of emotions in the face of negative experiences is a common element in a number of different types of poems, but is particularly prevalent in epicedia, or poems mourning a death. This is in keeping with the early modern, especially Lutheran,[45] view that grief was a necessary and good reaction to a death, and that the expression of grief should take place in order that the soul not sicken, but that such expressions had their appropriate time and place and also appropriate level of emotion (Linton 31). It is an expression of neo-Stoic self-control in the face of adversity, and an element of proper, Christian behavior.

45 Anna Linton wrote an excellent monograph on poetry and its uses in the consolation of parents who had suffered the loss of a child in early modern Lutheran Germany. In it, she gives a thorough background to Lutheran views concerning grief and consolation, and especially the "medical model of consolation". Anna Linton, *Poetry and Parental Bereavement in Early Modern Lutheran Germany* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2008), 22ff.

As noted above in reference to the works of Margaretha Susanna von Kuntsch, poems could, in addition to their public function, also contain references to a poet's lived experience, as for example in *Zlatna, oder von Ruhe deß Gemüths*, published by Martin Opitz in 1623 (Müller 78). This extensive poem, which consists of 532 rhymed, iambic, alexandrine lines, is also, like Fleming's sonnet above, an expression of neo-Stoic philosophy, and thus provides Opitz the opportunity to demonstrate his aspiration to the contemporary ideals of constancy and acceptance in the face of difficult circumstances, as befits a learned man of refined spirit. In much the same way the works of Schwarz and Zeidler reveal personal details related to the realities of their lived experience, while simultaneously expressing the social ideals to which they should and appeared to aspire. The poet praises Zlatna as a *laus ruris*, an ideal, natural place, where the mind of the poet can be free from the exigencies of political life in urban or court settings. This poem was composed while Opitz was serving as a teacher in Weißenburg, from whence he travelled to visit Zlatna. In the dedicatory letter preceding the poem, Opitz mentions the difficulties he faced while in the Siebenbürgen area, where he felt that even the air and water were against him, as well as the habits, language and thought of the people living there, which he called "meiner Natur gantz entgegen," entirely opposed to his nature (Müller 75). He therefore undertakes a visit to the neighboring Zlatna, where he found refreshment of mind and body in the natural surroundings, but also the help and support of a kindred spirit in the administrator, Lisabon, whose "trewe Liebe gegen mir," along with the "Freundlicher Dienstwilligkeit" of other people there, "mehrentheils Teutsche," made Opitz's time more bearable (Müller 76). The opening lines to the poem are as follows:

> WIe wann die Nachtigal/ vom Keficht außgerissen /
> Hin in die Lüfften kömpt/ vnd an den kalten Flüssen
> Mit singen lustig ist/ vmb daß sie loß vnd frey

Von jhrer Dienstbarkeit/ vnd nun jhr selber sey:

So dünckt mich ist auch mir/ im Fall ich vnterzeiten

Diß was mich sonsten hält kann werffen auff die Seiten /

Vnd ausser dieser Statt/ auch nur auff einen Tag/

Vnd einen noch darzu/ mit Ruh erschnauffen mag. (Lines 1 – 8)

This opening reveals conventional motifs from the *beatus ille* ("Blessed is he") or *laus ruris* ("praise of rural life") traditions, in which that man is considered blessed, who can escape the city for the peace of an ideal, bucolic landscape. Classical models for this tradition can be found in the works of Horace and Virgil, among many others. The phrase "*beatus ille*" comes from the first two words of Horace's second Epode, which praises country life. The genre itself generally juxtaposes the joys of country life and the opportunity to work one's own land with the difficulties of city life and the necessity to conform to the needs of others, and the requirements of public life. Opitz draws on Classical convention to express his personal situation in an eloquent and uplifting manner. Both Sibylle Schwarz and Susanne Elisabeth Zeidler use *beatus ille* and *laus ruris* motifs in their work. For Schwarz, who suffered the difficulties of living in a city occupied first by Imperial and then by Swedish troops during the Thirty Years War, the family's rural estate, Fretow, provided necessary and welcome relief from the suffering encountered in the city of Greifwald. She therefore uses the motifs associated with *beatus ille* and *laus ruris* conventionally, and idealizes Fretow as a *locus amoenus*, where she is most fully able to express her poetic spirit (Schwarz I: 13, 26, 105; II, N4r). Susanne Elisabeth Zeidler, on the other hand, wrote in the preface to her work that one of her reasons for writing poetry was that she keenly felt the solitude of the small town of Fienstedt, where she was separated from friends with whom she could pass the time and engage in lively discussion (Zeidler 10). She wrote a dialogic poem, in which the

shepherd Coridon discusses the relative benefits of city and country life with nymphs living on the "white mountain" (i.e. in Wittenberg). As discussed later in this chapter, her work can be read as an anti-*laus ruris*, because it expresses the desire, on the part of the nymphs, for the society which only the city can provide (Zeidler 103-107).

Opitz's poem describes Zlatna and retells its history. Opitz also includes thoughts as to how to live a pleasing life, and includes the recommendation to Lisabon, one of the Germans who helped him as he settled into his new assignment far from home, that he take a wife.[46] The poem ends with what appears to be a personal, and perhaps also heart-felt, expression of homesickness.

O liebes Vatterland/ wann werd' ich in dir leben?

Wann wirst du meine Freund' vnd mich mir wider geben?

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46 "*Wolt jhr daß ewer Glück auch gantz vollkommen sey/ Vnd gleicher massen jhr: Ein Weib das legt euch bey*." It is unclear whether Opitz, who himself never married, meant this advice seriously or not. The section that follows discusses the difficulty of doing this appropriately and is a catalogue of all of the negative features one could run across in a potential wife. If she is beautiful, she might stray. If she is wealthy or of a higher social status, she might not obey. Too much make-up and scent could indicate illness, etc. He therefore recommends a simple, country woman, with hands marked by her hard work, who will make the man's life pleasant. He makes this recommendation more persuasive by illustrating how that future, imagined life might be. One particularly telling scene occurs in lines 397 – 410. The wife has gone out to the field to bring her husband food. The two sit down together and enjoy a pleasant meal, after which they fall asleep to the sounds of the sparkling brook and singing birds. As the sun is setting, they make their way home, where the wife places a wonderful meal before him, consisting of eggs, lamb, cheese, and milk, all goods his land has produced. The question is, when was this meal prepared by the dutiful wife? Opitz also reports that the wife, after the husband has gone to bed, stays up spinning cloth with the servants as long as she is able, at which time she makes her way to bed, initiates a brief romantic interlude, falls asleep, but then is awake in time to prepare breakfast before her husband rises. This would indeed make for a pleasant life for the husband, but indicates a certain lack of understanding about the hardships encountered by women in daily life, if it is indeed meant in any way to be taken seriously. In certain respects it is however a retelling of the ideal wife as discussed in Proverbs 31. She also rises before her husband and is awake long after the rest of the household, working to bring honor and prosperity to the family.

Ich schwinge mich schon fort; gehab' anjetzt dich wol /

Du altes Dacia/ ich will wohin ich soll. (Lines 525 – 528)

But while it contains a personal lament at his separation from home, this is quickly followed by an expression of internalized obedience to duty: "ich will wohin ich soll," I want to go where I am supposed to go. That which he desires is subsumed beneath that which duty requires, he accepts the constraints of duty and the obligations of duty. For a man, the submission to duty could require service far from home, service to rulers whose religion might be different from one's own, or service to the family and family obligations. For a woman, the requirement that she perform her duty and accept with equanimity the difficulties she encountered referred primarily to her role within the family, which was controlled first by her parents and then by her husband. In the lives of Kuntsch and Sophie von der Pfalz, this equanimity and sovereign self-control could be expressed either in the face of misfortune brought about by God and nature, as Kuntsch suffered with the loss of her children, or by marital fidelity even in the face of blatant disregard for same on the part of her spouse, as encountered by Sophie von der Pfalz. The woman must also be prepared to accept with equanimity the marital partner chosen for her, and therefore Sophie von der Pfalz raised her daughters "indifferently" as regards religion, so that they would have no trouble fitting into either a Protestant or Catholic household, so as not to limit the choices for dynastic marriage (Heuvel 100). Her then fifteen-year-old daughter Sophie Charlotte was first considered as a possible partner for the widowed and considerably older Catholic King Louis XIV of France. Later, when the first wife of the Protestant Frederick, Prince Elector of Brandenburg, died, Sophie Charlotte married him.[47] Heuvel notes that Sophie Charlotte responded, when the

[47] While Sophie von der Pfalz clearly preferred the association with the most powerful Protestant German ruling house, both she and her daughter would have accepted the

prospect was put to her, "zwingen müsse sie sich bei einer Verheiratung in jedem Fall" (Heuvel 100).

In a culture where duty to self is subsumed beneath duty to the larger community and family, the writing of poetry was considered a secondary occupation. This was true for Sibylle Schwarz and Susanne Elisabeth Zeidler, just as it was for the male poets writing in the vernacular. In the first chapter of his 1624 *Buch von der deutschen Poeterey*, Martin Opitz emphasizes that the writing of poetry is secondary to public office, which is considered greater and more important than writing verse.

> vnnd wil auch [8] nachmals besten fleißes mich bemühen/ an größeren vnd mehr wichtigen sachen (denn ich gar wol weiß/ das es mit der Poeterey alleine nicht außgerichtet sey/ vnd weder offentlichen noch Privatämptern mit versen könne vorgestanden werden) durch beystandt Göttlicher hülffe alle mein heil zue versuchen (Opitz 7-8).

Poetry does not take the place of "important things," but does much to enhance them by securing the social network so vital for human beings. Poetry is the means to cultural improvement. It is through poetry and proper care ("*Pflege*") of the language that the German vernacular will attain a similar status of other vernacular languages. He does not believe that the German vernacular will take the place of Latin[48] in learned discourse, but simply that they should not be ashamed of their own language.

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marriage to the French king. Christine van den Heuvel, "Sophie von der Pfalz (1630-1714) und ihre Tochter Sophie Charlotte (1668-1705)." *Ungewöhnliche Frauen: Deutsche Dichterinnen, Malerinnen, Mäzeninnen aus vier Jahrhunderten.* Ed. Merkel, Kerstin and Heide Wunder. (München: Piper, 2009) 100.

48 Dirk Niefanger writes that the number of books published in German drew even with the number of those published in Latin in the year 1650, and by the year 1700 more books in German were being sold. D. Niefanger, *Barock* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2000) 78.

In the *Buch von der deutschen Poeterey*, Opitz provides two primary characteristics of the poet: education and talent. A poet should be learned, because poetry should express all of the other sciences and arts. By this he means that the poet should have knowledge of a wide variety of areas and be able to include these in his poems, as he himself did by referring to the newest inventions and discoveries in his work, including a "counting table"[49]. In Skrowonek's examination of the portraits of artists and poets, she affirms this precept by noting that it was indeed how poets were visually represented in the seventeenth century. Each person is represented according to their particular station and role in society. Being an author is simply one aspect of their nature, one attribute among many others. Susanne Skowronek writes,

> Die barocken Autoren werden uns im Porträt repräsentiert: als Amtsträger, als gelehrte Männer, als tugendhafte Frauen und Standes-personen. [...] Autorsein ist keine Daseinsbestimmung; es ist vielmehr ein Attribut. Stand und Amt sind objektivere Faktoren, die die Gestaltung des graphischen Porträts innerhalb der von vorherrschenden Konventionen bestimmten Grenzen festlegen (Skowronek 250).

Opitz also stresses that the poet must have a certain level of natural talent. He decries untalented poets who simply throw together poems in order to earn a little money. Opitz makes note of that poets are sometimes forced to compose at times when natural inspiration is lacking, but the external circumstances require a few lines, such as for a wedding or a funeral. He decries that poets are asked to come up with ditties to decorate watering cans and the front of a house.

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49 Vber Herrn Andreas Hindenberges new erfunden Zehltisch". Andreas Gryphius also wrote a well-known epigram, "Über Nicolai Copernici Bild" about the Copernican theory of the revolution of planets. Siegfried Wollgast, *Philosophie in Deutschland zwischen Reformation und Aufklärung, 1550-1650* (Berlin: Akademie, 1993) 869.

THE POET AND POETRY IN THE WORK OF SIBYLLE SCHWARZ

Sibylle Schwarz's idea of a poet conformed to the norms of the seventeenth century to a large extent, especially as they were delineated by Opitz. She strove to act and write as a true poet, according to his description, rather than simply one of the untalented poetasters he decried. She thus conformed herself to an extant male model, but without ever losing the sense of herself as a woman writing. That Schwarz characterized herself as being part of the tradition of poets is significant in her self-understanding. Although her gender and her youth are mentioned, she spends far more time describing herself simply as a poet and demonstrating the ways in which she holds to this ideal. Indeed, in one vital aspect, she uses the prevailing definition of a poet to reimagine it as equally attainable by both men and women. Anna Linton writes that the early modern Lutheran poets in Germany added a third element to the aims of poetry as defined by Horace, *prodesse et delectare*, which is to give glory to God (Linton 57). Schwarz claims throughout her text that this is her primary purposes in writing. Further, by acting in accordance with God's Will, she demonstrates virtue, *Tugend*, but also humility, *Demuht*. These two virtues, related to a poet who wishes to serve and praise God, were also the primary virtues required of women, and used frequently in the construction of female gender during this period.

Figure of "Neid" and "Feinden der edlen Leyer"

By positing herself as a poet, and drawing upon the justification of the divine for her actions, as well as demonstrating that the central virtues of a poet were also the virtues required of a young woman, Schwarz placed herself in a position of strength in comparison to her critics. In criticizing her they placed themselves opposed to poets and also opposed to god-pleasing behavior. Schwarz classified her opponents and critics as "Feinden der edlen Leyer" and "unverständig" (Schwarz I: 3). She writes that she could

be using her time much more poorly than in the writing of poetry, if, for example, "ich etwa meiner Jugendt in den Labyrinthe der Kälber Libe einen Flecken angehenget hette/ wie andere/ die unsere Poesey wol für ein unnützes übel schelten dürffen/ und doch vielleicht sich selber wahrnehmen/ und für übelerm übel hüten solten" (Schwarz I: 3). [50] As such she imagines herself as a poet, and those who attack her as those opposed to poetry. She specifically counters their criticisms of her based on gendered roles and her age, when she notes that she does not give short shrift to the "jungferliche Arbeit" she is meant to complete. She also eloquently and subtly uses conventional rhetorical devices to deflect the criticisms, and to counter the arguments she faces.

In describing her own work, Schwarz uses conventional expressions of humility and virtue. She notes that writing poetry has been the cause of much good for her, "daß die Poesey eine Ursacherin vieles guhten bey mir gewesen" (Schwarz I: 3). She takes a posture of extreme humility in describing her poems when writing to Gerlach or Sehbach. She refers to them as "fast des nahmens nicht würdige Reime" (Schwarz I: 5) and calls them "unreiffe Früchte" (Schwarz I: 4) and "ungepfeffert" (Schwarz I: 3). These are conventional expressions of humility, *Bescheidenheitstopoi*, primarily used by women as a defense against detractors who could accuse a woman writing of seeking her own fame, and thus acting outside the realms of behavior acceptable for women. Schwarz herself frequently makes note of criticisms by external detractors, which she embodies in the figure of *Neid* within her works.

In writing about the "typical prefatory nods to expectations of the writer's gendered ineptitude," Lynette McGrath notes that they should not be accepted as indicative of the writer's inability, but rather understood ironically, because "female self-

50 *Kälber Liebe* is a term from Heinsius and refers to youthful infatuation, cf. "puppy love".

effacement … conjoined with the exercise of writerly power" (McGrath 14-15). In "Ein Gesang wieder den Neidt" (Schwarz I: 6), she specifically addresses the problematic of her gender and youth, and also to her duty to virtue and virtuous behavior. In the eighth stanza, she writes:

> Was würde wol mein Phöbus sagen/
> Wen ich das grüne Lohrberlaub
> Mir würde selbst vom Häupte schlagen /
> Und werffen in der Erdenstaub?
> Euterpen würd es ja verdrüßen /
> Wenn Ihre Magd wehr außgerißen. (Schwarz I: 7)

As a poet, she owes her duty to Phoebus, who had placed the laurel wreath upon her head, which she should not remove herself. However, she is also the maid of Euterpe, the Muse of lyric song and music. The combination of these two images indicates how she both remained true to convention and shifted the prevailing ideas to redefine the term "poet" in such a way that she herself was included. It was conventional for a poet to serve Phoebus and the Muses, and Schwarz is well within the male tradition when she voices this fact. Yet she modifies service to the Muses in a specifically female way when she refers to herself as their maid, a role in which no male poet could cast himself.

This image evokes the domestic role of the relation between a young maid and her mistress (Yalom 137). The mistress had the responsibility to care for and educate the servants in her household, particularly the female servants. She would in some cases prepare a young woman to lead her own household when she chose to marry, and thus had a role akin to a mother (Yalom 137). Olwen Hufton likewise notes that many young women in service were simply saving money for a dowry, and thus working to be able to establish their own household (Hufton 81). It would be unacceptable for a maid to leave

before her mistress wished her to do so. Drawing on seminal work by Heide Wunder on the complementarity of gender roles within the early modern family, Olwen Hufton likewise notes the importance of the wife as a role model of proper behavior to the household servants, and even, especially in the case of the wives of pastors, to the community at large (Hufton 152, 154). If she ran a well-ordered household, it brought honor to the entire family. A household in which a female servant might run away would bring great dishonor.

It is also significant that she posits her critics as "unverständig," i.e., those that do not understand. In doing so, she positions herself on the opposite side, on the side of those of great understanding, of the intellectual elite. She further underscores this assertion directly and indirectly in her poetry by primarily making Classical allusions, thereby demonstrating the breadth of her knowledge. In this way she again aligns herself with a male, learned tradition. This is also the case when she writes that she does not allow poetry to keep her from her duties. In her case, the duties happen to be those appropriate to a young woman. Schwarz notes that she does not allow writing to keep her from her duties, "jungferlicher Arbeit" (Schwarz I: 3), but this is in keeping with the tradition established by Opitz. Thus, it is not particularly because she is a woman that she pursues duty before writing poetry, but that it is simply how a poet should behave. She writes that, "kan aber auch nicht verfechten/ das ich nicht hochstraffbar wehre/ wenn ich die Poesey mehr/ als anderer Jungferlicher Arbeit obliegen/ und die geschеffte meines Beruffs andern sachen zu den Füßen legen wollte" (Schwarz I: 3). She notes, further, that other work has not been done poorly, "das dadurch andere geschеffte nicht hindan gesetzet/ oder seumich verrichtet werden" (Schwarz I: 3-4). The particular work she does, "jungferlicher Arbeit," is of course determined by her gender. In this way she placed

herself within the male tradition, but modified that tradition to include herself, a female poet.

The figure of Neid was not limited to Schwarz's poetry. In her work it is the embodiment of the "Feinden der edlen Leyer" who attempted to stop her writing by criticizing and gossiping about her. This figure also appears in a great number of poems by male poets, and was specifically used in a similar fashion by Paul Fleming in his poem "An Sich." Martin Opitz also uses the term "Neid" when writing about detractors or critics. The terms he uses in the following section of the *Buch von der Deutschen Poeterey* are strongly reminiscent of the terms used by Schwarz and Gerlach concerning the challenges and criticisms she faced. As her personal difficulties could also be demonstrably shown to be shared by all poets, albeit without the added weight of gender working against them, it nonetheless supports the reading that she felt herself to be part of the larger poetic tradition, as much as she was also part of a specifically female tradition. Opitz writes:

> Welchen namen wenn die Poeten nicht zue gewarten hetten/ würden viel derselben durch die boßheit der Leute/ die sie mehr auß neide alß billicher vrsache verfolgen/ von jhrem löblichen vorsatze zuerücke gehalten vnd abgeschreckt werden (Opitz 22).

For Opitz those who criticize the poet primarily do so out of a sense of envy, rather than for any other concrete reason. Schwarz, who was familiar with the work of Opitz, clearly drew on the use of the term "Neid" to refer to critics, but this is also a telling choice of words. She responds to those who assert that she, as a young woman, should not write, by in turn claiming they are clearly without understanding, and also simply envious of her abilities. This implies that men could be envious of her talent, but perhaps also that women might be envious of her freedom to express herself in writing. In defying those

who envy her, she claims that she should be allowed to write, because it guides her to the path of virtue, because it does not hinder her in completing her assigned duties, and because she has been granted the understanding and ability to write poetry by God, for whose honor she writes.

As a woman, Sibylle Schwarz faced social censure by choosing to write, so she carefully walked the tightrope between her passion for poetry and her deeply held belief that her femininity did not in any way preclude her from writing, on the one hand, and the knowledge, on the other, that she would be attacked by critics for doing so. She makes note of the fact on more than one occasion, that criticism led her to almost lay down the pen or lay down the lyre, but that the support of "verständige," i.e., those that understand, those who support poetry, kept her from doing so. As she wrote in a letter to Gerlach dated July 24, 1637,

> bin noch güngsten auß Jacobus Catzen Niederländischen sachen (dessen gantzes opus meinem Bruder zugeschickt) etwas zu verteutschen schlüßigk worden/ allein darumb/ weil solches allen Feinden der edlen Leyer zuwiedern geschrieben wahr/ und mich der unwerständige Neidt leider der massen auch betrübet/ das ich schier meiner Poesey guht Nacht gegeben/ wen demselben nicht durch etliche Verständige Leute vohrgebauwet wehre (Schwarz I: 3).

She includes the same sentiment at the beginning of the funeral poem "Auff Herrn J. Jägers Haußfrauen Seel. Absterben" (Schwarz I: 23). In this case it serves as a rhetorical conceit to emphasize the importance of the need to write on this occasion. The loss of Jäger's wife moves her to the extent that she can rise against the "falschen Zungen" who speak against her, and take up her lyre in the just cause of lamenting the loss.

> OB zwar die falschen Zungen/
>
> Die auf mich zu gedrungen/

Es schon so weit gebracht/

Das meiner Leyer Gaben

Ein zeitlang sind vergraben/

Und krafftloß schier gemacht.

So kan ich doch nicht lassen/

Die Feder itzt zu fassen/

Es werde/ wie es woll; (Schwarz I:23)

In this poem we encounter the interaction of convention and personal experience in the construction of a poem. The use of this conventional *topos* serves to rhetorically heighten the urgency of the event. The loss of Jäger was significant enough to cause Schwarz to take up her pen again, no matter the consequences, "es werde/ wie es woll" (Schwarz I: 23).

It is clear that Schwarz understands her position in society and in no way wishes to move beyond it; however, she deems poetry an admissible addition to her vocation. Despite these caveats which demonstrate her clear understanding of her position within a social context and in contrast to male members of society, she defends herself against those who would attack her for writing simply because she was born a woman. Barbara Becker-Cantarino notes that, in her poem entitled "Ein Gesang Wider den Neid," she staunchly defends her right, as a woman, to write by legitimizing her work through reference to the tradition of women poets. Anna Carrdus likewise notes that Schwarz was aware of the fifty-eight female poets listed in the Latin catalogue of notable women compiled by Johann Ravius Textor in 1552 (Carrdus "Women's Writing" 883). As Schwarz wrote in the thirteenth verse of "Ein Gesang wider den Neidt,"

Was Sappho für ein Weib gewesen

Von vielen/ die ich dir nicht nenn /

Kanstu bey andern weiter lesen/

Von den ich acht und fünffzig kenn/

(Schwarz I: 8).

After traditional arguments in favor of poetry, such as that it would provide eternal fame to both the writer and the one written about, she draws upon the authority of the Muses, who were also women, and on the "Dutch Example."[51] In the same poem, she claims to know of 58 other female poets, made known to her in the work of others, most likely Textus, though she declines to list them all. She prefers instead to direct the reader to Cats's work, as well as the work of other catalogue writers. The tradition of catalogues of notable women goes back to Boccaccio. In Germany it became much more prevalent in the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, but Schwarz nonetheless was clearly familiar with the catalogues and drew both inspiration and justification for her own life choices from them.

The "Gesang wider den Neidt" introduces one of the central figures in Schwarz's work: the figure of "*Neid*" (Envy). As noted above, she frequently uses the terms *Neid*, *Mißgunst*, and *Pöbel* to both personify and describe the attitude of external critics. This practice is conventional, those terms having likewise appeared in Opitz and Fleming, to name just two. It was also traditional to invoke Momus[52] and Zoilus[53] as symbolic

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51 "The Dutch Example" has often been considered Anna Maria van Schurmann (Becker-Cantarino), but could also refer to the lists of female authors from the Netherlands in both Cats and Heinsius.

52 "A person who complains about everything. In Greek mythology Momus was the god of ridicule who was obliged to flee heaven after incurring the wrath of the other gods." Martin Manser, *The Facts on File Dictionary of Classical and Biblical Allusions*, Facts on File Writer's Library, ed. David H. Pickering (New York: Checkmark Books, 2003) 248.

53 "A spiteful critic. The allusion is to a Greek rhetorician … who lived in the fourth century B.C. and became notorious for his witty, biting remarks, … earning him the

critics. In this case, Schwarz is subtly shifting the tradition because she herself is being criticized for her gender and her youth, and she indicates with the frequent and consistent use of the term "Neid" that others, and perhaps even men, are actually simply envious of her talents. She takes refuge from these "Neider" in the certain feeling that she is operating within the will of God. This is also a traditional *topos* for early modern poets in Germany. They added to the purposes of poetry, which had since Classical times consisted of *prodesse et delectare* the sense that one should demonstrate virtue and humility and follow the will of God. The addition of these virtues further opened the writing of poetry to women, because these were virtues particularly associated with women, and Schwarz herself seems to have realized this. Her desire to bring honor to God and demonstrate virtue and humility are ideas expressed in most of her poems, including *"*Ein Gesang Wider den Neidt*"* (Schwarz I: 6).

> Hatt zwar die Mißgunst tausendt Zungen/
> Und mehr dan tausend ausgestreckt/
> Und kompt mit macht auf mich gedrungen/
> So werd ich dennoch nicht erschreckt;
> Wer Gott vertrawt in allen dingen/
> Wirdt Weldt/ wird Neidt/ wird Todt bezwingen. (Schwarz I: 6)

The final couplet of the first verse captures the cornerstone of her faith: God (entrusting all things to God) is more powerful than the world, envy and death. By naming this triad of evil, Schwarz identifies the primary nemeses of her young life, the negative powers that seem to overshadow many of her writings. The strong neo-Stoic stance that faith in God will enable the individual to weather the storms of external criticism is reiterated

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nickname 'the Thracian Dog.'" Manser, *The Facts on File Dictionary of Classical and Biblical Allusions* 421.

throughout the poem and the final two lines of the first verse reappear verbatim in the final two lines of the poem: "Wer Gott vertrawt in allen dingen/ Wirdt Weldt/ wird Neidt/ wird Todt bezwingen" (Schwarz I: 10).

The poem is constructed in a series of antithetical statements, contrasting this world (Diesseits) and the better world to come (Jenseits):

Diesseits	***Jenseits***
Missgunst (malevolence)	*Gunst (*also *Fama)* (favor, fame)
verfalschter Freund (false friend)	*wahrer Freund* (true friend)
vergifftete Siren (poisonous sirens)	*Musen* (Muses)
Welt (world)	*Gottesreich* (Kingdom of God)
Neid (envy)	*Gunst/Freundschaft* (favor, friendship)
Tod (death)	*ewiges Leben* (eternal life)

Table 1: Dichotomies in "Gesang wider den Neid"

"Missgunst," which can be translated as mistrust, enviousness, distrust, jealousy, malevolence and resentment, is cast opposite "Gunst" (favor) or "Fama" (fame). For Schwarz, *Neid* represents any defamatory or unfavorable voices. *Neid* attacking a poet is a traditional theme, but takes on different aspects when applied to a woman writing, and particularly in Schwarz's continuous use of this term. Because of the constant reappearance of this term throughout her work and even in the introductory letters included by Gerlach it seems to take on a particular fervor. The figure of *Neid* reappears throughout Schwarz's oeuvre and denotes all those who mocked her because of the choices she made. For Schwarz, she must face not only those who are against poetry in general, but also those voices who believe that she, as a woman, should not be writing. She uses the term *Neid* and its plural, *Neider*, to refer to and personify her critics. There is no specific identification of the identity of her accusers, of the *Neider*. They could have

been simply some of the townspeople of Greifswald, or they could have been more personally significant to her. The poems to Judith Tanck, discussed in Chapter 4, lend credence to the reading that it could have been those whom Schwarz considered her closest friends who criticized her. Other than Christina Maria von Sehbach, whom Schwarz appears to have approached as a patroness, the named supporters of her work are all male, as are most of the addressees of her poems, with the notable exception of Judith Tanck. It could be the case that, rather than being attacked by men, she was criticized by women who had internalized the prescribed roles set for them and who envied, mocked and decried Schwarz's choice to assert and follow her personal desires. Because the poet herself does not give a clear indication of who might have been criticizing her, we are left to speculate about their possible identity.

She defends herself from those who believe a woman should not write poetry in two ways. First, as noted by Barbara Becker-Cantarino and as demonstrated above, she writes that she is part of a female writing tradition that goes all the way back to Sappho,[54] and that even the Muses themselves are female, thus further demonstrating that women can and should, in Schwarz's consideration, write poetry. Second, she posits the virtue of humility (*Demuht*), traditionally considered appropriate to women, as being central for the poet. In this she not only shifts the prevailing values to include her in the definition of a poet, but she also makes claim on what, for the seventeenth century poets in Germany was the first role of poetry, to bring honor to God (Linton 57).

Vermeynstu/ daß nicht recht getroffen/

Daß auch dem weiblichen Geschlecht

54 Schwarz translated a poem by Heinsius, "Lob der der Verständigen und Tugendsamen Frauen" (Schwarz I:61). This demonstrates her familiarity with at least some of the arguments concerning the nature of women in the seventeenth-century *Querelles des Femmes*.

Der Pindus allzeit frey steht offen/

So bleibt es dennoch gleichwohl recht/

Daß die/ so nur mit Demuht kommen/

Von Phoebus werden angenommen. (Schwarz I: 8)

Thus, she writes that it is right, "recht," in spite of what her critics may believe, that "die/ so nur mit Demuht kommen," i.e., all those who come with humility, are welcomed by "Phoebus." Phoebus is another name for Apollo, the Greek god of poets and poetry. In the seventeenth century, the term Phoebus can be used to either signify the Greek god of poetry or simply the sun itself, as Phoebus/Apollo was also the god of the sun. Schwarz is again positioning herself as a poet, and adding this attribute as appropriate for a woman, because "Pindus," a mountain range in Greece that is associated with poets and poetry, is free to all those who come with humility. It is the virtue most closely aligned with female behavior in the seventeenth century that is the key to entering this realm.

Sibylle writes that for her, poetry has been the source of much that is good. She also uses it as a means to provide social discipline, in keeping with the statement that poetry should be both useful and delightful. In delighting the reader, it also teaches them and provides appropriate models for behavior. The idea that poetry can lead to a path of virtue and have an educative function goes back not only to the Classical rhetorical tradition but also, importantly for the Lutheran faith, to statements by Martin Luther. Luther recognized that music had the power to teach doctrine, and that doctrines set to singable, often familiar, secular melodies could serve the purpose of educating young people in the correct path (Linton 58). In keeping with this tradition, Schwarz conceives of poetry not only as the central joy in her life, but also as the path toward all that is good and away from evil. Poetry is a gift from above, "Die edle Poesey/ die selbst der Himmel giebt" (Schwarz I: 12). In one of the two funeral poems written upon the death of Duke

Bogislav XIV, last of the Pomeranian dukes, she pens strong praise in favor of poetry and its ability to lead to a path of virtue.

Die Leyer zwinget ihn/ sie dringt durch alle Sachen /
Die einen Menschen Sonst gahr balt verderbet machen;
Sie ist das/ was den Sinn macht fliegend und entzückt /
Sie ist das werthe Pfandt/ das uns Apollo schickt.
Sie ist der Sprachen Ruhm/ die Tugends aller Tugendt;
Sie ist der Künsten Kunst/ Sie ist die Zierd der Jugendt;
Sie lebt/ wen alles stirbt/ und kann nicht untergehn/
Wen gleich die grosse Welt nicht länger kann bestehn (Schwarz I: 12)

She uses a number of rhetorical devices and allusions to make the argument that poetry serves to guide in the path of all that is right and virtuous. In illustrating how the lyre, by which she means poetry, can "push through" that which could lead a mean to sin, and lead him to what is right, she builds intensity by repeating the phrase "Sie ist" and then making statements about the lyre. In the first two lines, she uses the entire line, but then she further increases the intensity by making two statements per line. It culminates in the final two lines that evoke the conventional *topos* that poetry will outlive the physical world and thereby can grant immortality to its subject.

This sentiment was common in Lutheran funeral poems, and Schwarz herself also used it to demonstrate the value of poetry over and above physical things. In "Ein Gesang Wider den Neidt," for example, she notes that the things of this earth, the things created by men's and women's hands, will all pass away, while poetry will remain. She again uses repetition and the accumulation of ideas to rhetorically strengthen her claim. The *topos* itself is conventional, but Schwarz again shifts it to include the works of women

and to subtly bring another argument in favor of her choice to write poetry in addition to her more conventionally gendered tasks and duties. She writes,

Sollt ich die Nadel hoch erheben/
Und über meine Poesey/
So muß ein kluger mir nachgeben/
Daß alles endlich reisst entzwey;
Wer kann so künstlich Garn auch drehen/
Das es nicht sollt in stücken gehen?
Bring alles her auß allen Enden/
Was ie von Menschen ist bedacht/
Was mit so klugen Meister Händen
Ist jemahls weit und briet gemacht/
Und laß eß tausend Jahre stehen/
So wird es von sich selbst verehen.
Wo ist Dianen Kirch geblieben?
Des Jupters Bild ist schon davonö
Sind nicht vorlengst schon auffgerieben
Die dicken Mauren Babilon?
Was damahls teuer gnug gegolten/
Wird ietzt für Asch und Staub gescholten.
Doch daß/ was Naso hat geschrieben/
Was Aristoteles gesagt/
Ist heut bey uns noch überblieben/
Und wird auch nicht ins Grab gejagt/
Sie leben stets und sign gestorben/

Und haben ewigst Lob erwoben (Schwarz 8-9)

The majority of Schwarz's allusions are conventional, but she changes the traditional argument by adding a section pertaining specifically to herself as a female poet. Not only does she add a section concerning yarn and needlework, but she foregrounds it by placing it at the beginning of her argument, and uses it to introduce the more conventional aspects. Further, by moving in the first strophe from a discussion of women's hands and the spinning of yarn to a discussion of the hands of master craftsmen in the second strophe she again places herself in line with a traditionally male role. It is done subtly, but is nonetheless present. There is consistent evidence throughout her work that Schwarz sees herself as equal with other poets, and thus equal with men. Although she uses *Bescheidenheitstopoi* to describe her verses when writing about these to Gerlach or to Sehbach, in the poetry itself she consistently makes a strong claim for herself as a poet. In this way she "slither[s] through … the ideologically constrained prohibitions against the exercise of women's linguistic skill" (McGrath 15) by combining *Bescheidenheitstopoi* with an "exercise of writerly power" (McGrath 14). Missing from Schwarz's work are the claims made by later female writers that their work was not equal to that of men, as we will see in the writing of Susanna Elisabeth Zeidler and especially in the discussion of her "Rhapsodius" poem.

When considered with her earlier statement that, if it were not for poetry, she might have succumbed to youthful indiscretion, it is high praise indeed for Schwarz to write that poetry is the means to attaining virtue. In light of Schwarz's inclusion of herself as an equal to men in her aspect as poet, she makes an even stronger claim for herself and her role in society. Poetry for Schwarz is not simply a *Zeitvertreiber* with which to while away time, but the highest good to which one can aspire. Poetry is thus a guide to moral living, and it is part of the poet's job to inspire "right" living in others by

providing either positive or negative examples. The poet teaches by either *praecepta* or *exempla* (Carrdus *Classical Rhetoric* 21) if possible, or by *disciplina* if necessary. Schwarz takes seriously the poet's role of moral conscience, the person who gives moral guidelines under the auspices of modeled behavior and in explicitly didactic works. In keeping with her belief that this is part of her role, she wrote two poems about the *unadelich Adel* (ignoble nobility), concluding that poets are far superior in moral fiber and "true" nobility of spirit. The pieces, "An den unadelichen Adel" (Schwarz I: 55) and "Poëten gehen dem unadelichen Adel weit vor" (Schwarz II: H3r) are not intended to simply state that poets are superior, but are meant to admonish the nobility to behave more in keeping with their station and to act with "true" nobility. They thus function is social discipline, and bringing about a return to social order.

In his criticism of what poets are sometimes asked to do, Opitz writes that they are asked to write love poems in the name of others. The Schwarz collection includes four such poems (Schwarz I: 60; II, D4v, E1v, K1r).[55] It is impossible to verify whether the poems were actually written at the behest of others, or whether Schwarz simply acted as though they had been, so that she might fully emulate all of the examples set forth by Opitz. In other words, if "true" poets are asked to write in the name of others, she should also demonstrate this ability. If it is true that Schwarz, like Kuntsch, was commissioned to write poems in the name of others, then that is a demonstration that her skill and reputation were such that others felt she was worthy of this attention and is confirmation of her acceptance as a poet by some of her contemporaries.

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55 "Im Nahmen eines guhten Ehren=Freunds/ auff seiner Liebsten Wegkreise" (Schwarz I: 60); "Liebe wird durch eine Musike angesponnen in Namen eines guhten Freunds" (Schwarz II: D4v); "Klaglied im Nahmen Christ. Hann." (Schwarz II: E1v); "Lieber sterben als lieben; im Namen eines guhten Freundes" (Schwarz II: K1r).

The Lyric "Ich"

As we will see, although Zeidler uses strong *humilitas* statements to defend herself against criticism, she nonetheless maintains a female voice throughout her text, and the collection itself is clearly a female-authored, female-directed and female-constructed whole. Sibylle Schwarz, on the other hand, while strongly defending her right, as a woman, to write poetry, nonetheless found herself within a masculine convention against which she subconsciously struggled, as noted in the section concerning the poem "Als sie ein poetischer Geist tribe," which was written in a masculine voice. Further, the whole of Schwarz's work is brought to us through the prism of a male lens. The poems were collected and published by Gerlach and the contributors of dedicatory poems were clearly part of his social circle, not that of Schwarz herself or, to any extent we can identify, her family. The ambiguity caused by this lens is further complicated by Schwarz herself, who alternately uses the male and female voice throughout her work. The appendix to the second volume contains a sonnet cycle, in which Schwarz also presents poems in the Petrarchan tradition and from a masculine perspective. It contains the most well-known work by Schwarz, "Ist Lieb ein Feur/ und kan das Eisen schmiegen," which models itself on Opitz's famous sonnet "Francisci Petrarchae," which begins "Ist Liebe lauter nichts/ wie daß sie mich entzündet?" (Müller 173). That poem was modeled on Petrarch's sonnet 88 in the Canzoniere.

Hans-Jürgen Schlütter, in his seminal work on the history of the Sonnet, indicated that Schwarz's sonnets were typically Petrarchan. "Sibylle's love sonnets prove the power of convention. They are, in a good Petrarchan manner, written from the point of view of a man, and also sing about their own Cloris, Dorile and Galathea" (Schlütter 96). Petra Ganzenmueller is not so quick to ascribe conventionality to Schwarz, but writes

that, rather than "slavishly following" her models, "she continued the Petrarchan Tradition, but not without deepening it with her own variants" (Ganzenmueller 213).

A typically Petrarchan sonnet, based originally on the love sonnets by Francesco Petrarca (1304-1374), is written from a male perspective, the suffering love slave, and typically addressed to an unattainable woman who is described as a cold tyrant. Developing from Petrarch, especially as he was transmitted by Ronsard (1524-1585) and Veronica Gambara (1485-1550), German Petrarchan poetry of the early modern period is characterized by easily recognizable formulaic descriptions of the loved one: her heart is made of diamonds, her cheeks are like roses, her hair is gold, her breasts made of marble or alabaster. The man, on the other hand, suffers cruelly the torments of unrequited love, he like the living dead, languishing and pining for his love. She in turn is heartless and refuses to hear his pleas (Szyrocki 32-33). Poems in the Petrarchan tradition can include the catalogue of female attributes listed above, or can simply be the lament of the suffering man. Poems can also be anti-Petrarchan in nature, and reverse the catalogue of female beauty to one of ugliness, as in Opitz's poem "Du schöne Tyndaris" (Müller 173). Although less frequently in Germany than either Italy or France, Petrarchan poems can also be written in the voice of the woman. Opitz includes seven translations from the work of Veronica Gambara in his collection of sonnets. Thus, Schwarz could have known of the possibility to write from the female point-of-view and chosen not to do so.

Schwarz appears on the surface to follow convention. She makes use of a number of the above-mentioned formulaic descriptions of the beloved in her sonnet cycle and several of the sonnets are addressed to Galathea, Cloris and even Dorile. In one of the poems she unmistakably identifies the speaker as male in her use of the masculine article "der" in the first line of the sixteenth sonnet: "Ich bin nicht der ich bin" (Schwarz II: P2v). Schwarz could have chosen to write love poetry from a female perspective, as

Pernette de Guillet, writing in the 1540s in Lyon, did (Jones 81), Pernette writes herself as a powerful woman who has enslaved the man with her charms, but then chooses to let him go. “Let him go, to serve the nine Muses, without wanting to enslave him myself … Let him go, let me not anger Apollo, Filling him full of deep godly power, to stir up the entire world against me” (Jones 82).

Schwarz could have maintained the feminine voice of most of her poems, but she chose not to do so. Schwarz’s sonnets, individually, can be examined in light of traditional Petrarchan topoi. But taken as a whole, they reveal a progression. The poet is seeking to understand the nature of love. The tone of the first sonnet captures the ambiguous nature of her stance toward love and the lover, and toward herself as a writing woman. It sets the tone for the passages that follow. The voice is an ambiguous one, neither clearly male nor female.

Wan alle Buhler doch nuhr hetten einen Fluht /
so würde Venus nicht so ungleich ihnen schenken
der süssen Liebe Lohn, sie würde noch gedencken /
was herzlich lieben sey. Weil nuhn der dieses thus /
    der ander aber das/ der eine wagt sein Bluht /
der ander tuht es nicht/ der eine wil sich lencken
zuhr Hoffnung und Gedult/ und jener wil sich hencken /
so lohnt sie nach Verdienst: den trewen ist sie guht /
    den falschen ist sie falsch/ wie kan sieß anderst machen?
weil dieser klagt und weint/ und jener pflegt zu lachen.
    Ich bin vohm Lieben kalt/ und brenn doch als ein Licht/
dan dis ist mein Gebrauch: Ich halte meine Schmerzen
nuhr still/ und sage nicht fort alles auß dem Hertzen/

was wohl dahrinnen ist; Ich lieb und lieb auch nicht.

(Schwarz II: O3r)

Throughout, physical love marked by lust and burning is shown to be negative. This fits a neo-Stoic worldview, in which the individual tries to overcome excessive emotion, as he or she seeks a higher good. Throughout the series of sonnets, the poets asks a number of questions. He/she asks how, if love is chaste, adultery is possible; the poems, though they include the laments of unrequited love, take a critical stance to physical love. She writes that it is a devouring fire that is never sated, is blind and burns, destroys youth, and, using the rhetorical device of the oxymoron to heighten the sense of disorder created, that it is a good evil and a sinful virtue. She writes that whoever is captured by lust's fire should run in the opposite direction. In contrast to this, she hypothesizes that true love, whether waking or sleeping, is always focused on the needs and best interest of the beloved. This is a break with convention, as Petrarchan poems focused primarily on the needs and suffering of the speaker rather than those of the Other.

Though the speaker wavers between a denial of love as too painful on the one hand and an affirmation of love on the other, the final sonnet ends with the desire that time should flow quickly and bring his beloved. Once she is there, time should flow more slowly, that they might enjoy time in each other's presence. Therefore, it is the story of a lover tossed to and fro on the waves of unrequited love, not unlike other Petrarchan poems. However, this lover is himself inconstant, moving from one love to the next, from Cloris to Galathea and then finally mentioning Dorile. He chooses to leave Cloris, because of her lack of pity and cold, hard heart, turning to sweet Galathea, who then leaves him. Though he swears fidelity to her despite the distance, in the very next poem he is asking time to bring Dorile to him. Schwarz's use of the male voice is thus subtly turned into a critique of the fickle, inconstant male.

Schwarz used the voice of the man, the voice of power, for two reasons. First, aware of the limitations placed on woman not only as writer but as active principle, she chose the voice of the active lover. It was also the voice employed by the poets she chose to emulate. But once she had usurped that voice, it enabled her to subvert and defy tradition. Her masculine voice is not the undifferentiated suffering slave of love, but rather one seeking the true essence of love and trying to define themselves within it, as Schwarz tries to define herself within a world where her passion to write is at odds with social convention. Her lover rejects his first love, because she does not demonstrate the qualities of a true lover. She is hard-hearted, but he is himself inconstant, despite this desire to find the true essence of love.

The neo-Stoic call to moderate emotion and thus to free oneself from the excesses and pain associated with strong emotion. Anna Linton has demonstrated that this formed the basis for the ideal of mourning in the early modern period (Linton 31). While it was necessary to grieve a loss, and the writing of funeral poetry allowed both the working through of that grief and the public representation of appropriate grieving, it was vital that one not allow excessive grieving to cloud one's judgment and detract from the Christianized neo-Stoic acceptance of divine will (Linton 16). This call to moderation of emotion evoked in grief or in sensual love is a common *topos* in didactic works throughout the period, although it is not necessarily a component of Petrarchan love sonnets. In the work of Sibylle Schwarz, this *topos* plays a prominent role in the sonnet cycle, where the path to freedom from the pain caused by excessive, sensual love, which runs counter to social order and creates internal turmoil, is the choice not to love, to flee from love. One sonnet in particular, Sonnet 14, refers to running as far as possible from Amor.

Man sagt/ es sey kein Ort/ da Amor nicht zu finden/

eß sey kein öder Wald/ eß sey kein Teil der Welt/
da dieser große Fürst nicht seine Hoffstadt helt;
man sagt/ es sey kein Man/ den er nicht könne binden:
noch hat er meinen Muht nicht können überwinden/
weil mir sein schnödes Thun zu keiner zeit gefält;
ob er schon noch so weit ihm bawet sein Gezelt/
daß in Arabia man ihn auch stets kann finden.
Europa ist zwahr sein/ er sitzt in Africa /
er wohnt in Asia/ und kent America/
In summ/ eß ist kein Haus/ das er nicht innen hatt/
eß ist kein Menschlich Hertz/ das er nicht könnte lencken/
mich doch/ ob er schon nah mir ist/ kann er nicht krencken/
dan ist er auff dem Dorff/ so bin ich in der Stadt. (Schwarz II: P2r)

On its face this poem is a call to avoid the excesses of unreasonable, sensual love, but in it Schwarz goes much further. After demonstrating that Amor's reach is everywhere in the world, including Europe, Africa, Asia and America, the concluding quartet demonstrates why Amor has been unable to affect the lyric "Ich" of this work. Although no other human heart is able to withstand Amor's advances, and particularly no "Man" can avoid being bound by him, the lyric "Ich" avoids him by simply not being where he is. In the final line she writes, "dan ist er auff dem Dorff/ so bin ich in der Stadt" (Schwarz II: P2r). This indicates prescience in the ability to avoid Amor on the part of the lyric "Ich," and is also an extreme expression of the desire to avoid Amor at all costs. This concept is present throughout the sonnet cycle.

Schwarz carefully notes on a number of occasions that she does not seek fame from her writing. In "Auf Ihres Landesfürsten Tod/ an M.S.G.," (Schwarz I:10) she writes:

> Ich/ die Ich nicht begehr durch dis berümt zu werden /
> Was mir Apollo giebt/ noch dadurch von der Erden
> Will hoch erhoben sein biß an des Himmels dach /
> Das ob es selbst schon hoch/ nicht hochheit leiden mach
> Im gleichen auch nicht will/ daß Fama mir soll geben
> Den Nahmen/ daß ich kann auch nach dem Tode leben
> (Den das ist mir zu hoch/ begehr' ich das zu lohn/
> So geht es mich gewiß/ wie vor dem Phaeton)
> (Schwarz I:10)

Phaeton sought fame by stealing his father's chariot, the sun, and attempting to drive it across the sky. He failed, causing the earth to be scorched and causing his own death. Phaeton in this context symbolizes excessive, dangerous pride. We should make note here of Schwarz's use of the feminine relative pronoun "die" to mark her gender at the beginning of this section. It contrasts significantly with a poem she wrote about poetic inspiration. It is clear that both the "sie" in the title refers to Schwarz or at the very least to a female speaker, but the first line immediately indicates that a male lyric "Ich" is speaking. The references to Clio and to Eros remind of other poems by Schwarz herself, some of which use a female lyric "Ich" and others or which either use a clearly male gendered speaker or are ambiguous. It is tempting to read the ambiguity as an attempt by Schwarz to mask her gender when making claims that would elicit excessive criticism for a poet generally, and specifically for a female poet. Some might ask if the "Poetischer Geist" could be the lyric "Ich," but this does not seem to be the case. It is the "Poetischer

Geist" who inspires the poet to higher things, but the poet him- or herself who is speaking.

Alß sie ein Poëtischer Geist tribe.
Ich/ der ich sonsten pflag von schlechten Dingen schreiben/
bin gäntzlich umgekehrt/ nun muß mein Lob wohl bleiben /
und grünen wie ein Zweig/ iezt will ich meinen Sinn /
von dem/ das niedrig ist/ biß in die Wolcken ziehn.
Die Göttin Fama wil mir selber Flügel geben/
die immer für und für am hellen Himmel kleben/
und wo der Venus Sohn hinfüro schiessen will
nach mir/ so raht ich/ daß er in die Wolcken Ziel.
Da soll mein Ball=Platz seyn/ da soll das Glüder fliegen/
wie Sprey/ das brennen muß/ allzeit unten ligen.
Die Clio bindet mir schon selbst die Lohrbeer=Kron/
Die Ewig grünen wird/ nun soll die Kunst den Lohn
erlangen/ recht; So muß ein freyer Sinn bekleiben;
nuhn/ ich wil immer auch bey meinen Worten bleiben/
und steigen mit dem Sinn des Himmels Leiter an/
ein jeder sey bereit/ daß er mir folgen kann. (Schwarz II: H3v)

This poem is thematically close to the previously-cited poem. Both use the imagery of flying to denote fame, and specifically name Fama, and they begin with a similar construction, although the first is marked as a feminine voice, while the second is marked as a masculine voice. This second poem expresses the opposite idea. While in the first, the female-gendered speaker is reassuring the reader that, while Apollo has given her the gift of poetry, she does not seek fame. To do so, she seems to indicate, would lead to her

destruction by fire, as she would end up as Phaeton did. In the second poem, the male-gendered speaker requires the opposite. He has chosen to turn from "baser things," or more simple things, to seek a place in the heavens. This image is that of the Classical Greek heroes, who were transformed into celestial bodies upon their death. She uses the term "bekleiben," which means "to remain," a term used frequently by Opitz in reference to his verses in the sense that good verses will remain, while poor verses will not.[56] She thus feels able to write quite differently when appropriating the masculine voice. It frees her to pursue the heights of intellectual stimulation, the "fliegende Gedanken" she notes in other poem. This freedom may have been from self-imposed limits, but seems, from her writings about critics, to be just as likely her attempt to avoid the remonstrations of the "Neider."

It is also possible to read against the grain, in a way that does not necessarily express the intention of the author. The image of wings being given to the speaker evoke the myth of Icarus. Icarus and his father were being held prisoner and his father created wings to help them escape. Upon experiencing the freedom and joy of flying, however, Icarus flew too close to the sun. His wings melted and he fell into the sea, where he was drowned. The "Himmels Leiter" (ladder to heaven) also has a negative secondary connotation: that of Jacob's dream, in which he fought with an angel and was thereafter lame. Thus the danger of the poet seeking fame is present in the subtext, even in the midst of a joyful paean to heights to which a poetic spirit can fly.

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56 See e.g. *Zlatna* and "Auff Herrn David Müllers Seeligen Abschied." Jan-Dirk Müller, ed., *Martin Opitz: Gedichte, eine Auswahl* (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1995).

Social Role of the Poet in Schwarz

Although Schwarz acknowledges her duties and that she does not neglect them, she nonetheless speaks with great authority as a poet. In contrast to both our expectations and prevailing contemporary notions of femininity and appropriate female behavior, Schwarz positioned herself as a poet writing in the learned, and thus historically male, tradition. As considered below, this was not simply her self-perception and self-positioning, but also how she was seen by contemporaries.

The first volume of Schwarz's collection of poems is preceded by three letters from Schwarz to Gerlach, the first dated April 10, 1637, the second dated July 24, 1637 and the third dated March 18, 1638. Gerlach reports in the preface that he included the letters for three reasons.

> Solchem Ersten Theil Ihrer Gedichten hat man auch nuhr drey Ihrer Sendeschreiben vorher zusetzen/ nicht undienlich erachtet/ damit du sehen möchtest/ 1. wie sie so wol in ungebund= als gebundener Rede einen schönen Brieff gestellet. 2. Wie sie sich/ wegen ihrer Poësey/ wider ihre Verleumder/ so artlich zu schützen wissen/ 3. wie sie vohn aller Ehrsucht gahr ferne gewesen/ und wegen diser Ihrer seltenen Gaben/ den geringsten Nachruhm zuerjagen nicht begehret/ (Schwarz I:a1v).

He desired, first of all, to show her ability to compose in both verse ("gebundener Rede") and prose ("ungebundener Rede"). Secondly, he wanted to demonstrate how well she was able to defend herself against her "nay-sayers" ("Verleumder")[57] or critics. Finally, he considered it vital to prove that she did not desire either fame or recognition for her writing, the demonstration of her "rare" gifts. The poet herself often echoes the desire to be free of fame, but does not claim any particular exceptionality. This places Schwarz

57 This term can be translated as "detractors" or "calumniators"

more firmly in the tradition established by Anna Maria van Schurmann. Van Schurmann argued that women could be educated, as long as they did so solely in order to more perfectly worship God and to lead themselves to greater virtue (Wiesner 160-61). Schwarz begins all of her letters with the initials H.L.G., which she explains mean "Hilff Lieber Gott*"* (Schwarz I: 1). In her poems themselves she also makes reference to that God is the source of her poetry and the reason why she writes. She explicitly aligns herself with that precept, when she concludes "Ein Gesang wieder den Neidt":

Ich wil hinfüro GOTT vertrawen/
Von dem soll sein mein Tichten all /
So kann mich auch für dir nicht grawen /
Drüm sag ich billig noch einmahl:
Wer GOTT vertrawt in allen Dingen /
Wird Welt/ wird Neid/ wird Todt bezwingen (Schwarz I: 10)

That Sibylle Schwarz clearly saw herself as part of a larger tradition of poets, including both men and women, is notable in contrast to Susanne Elisabeth Zeidler. In the following section, we will look at Zeidler's definition of poetry and the poet, and how she situates herself within the poetic tradition. The difference between these two women, writing approximately fifty years apart, is striking.

Schwarz's Prose Eclogue "Faunus"

One of Schwarz's most significant works is the prose eclogue "Faunus," which is the first piece in the second volume of Schwarz's collection (Schwarz II: A1r). It is a marked departure from her model Martin Opitz, although he provided the first example of this genre (Meid 146). The prose eclogue (*Prosaekloge*) consists of both prose and poetic sections (Solbach 481). The first example of this genre, Opitz's "Schäfferei von der

Nimphen Hercinie“ (1630), relates the story of four shepherds (identifiable as Opitz and three of his friends, Buchner, Nüssler and Venator) who stroll through the Silesian *Riesengebirge* (Solbach 481). It combines discussions that concern the nature of love, reason and travel with a panegyric in praise of Opitz's patron, the house of Schaffgotsch (Meid 147; Solbach 481). Although Schwarz drew on the example of "Hercinie" in her use of prose interspersed with poetry, she exceeded her model in a number of respects. First, she created a narrative unity, rather than a widely ranging discussion that covered a variety of topics (Ziefle 304). Second, her prose eclogue included a fully-developed female figure in the person of Daphne (Ziefle 305). Finally, Schwarz's "Faunus" eloquently depicts the role of poetry in the expression of true feeling, at a point far earlier than most scholars acknowledge the existence of *Erlebnisdichtung*. Ziefle notes that the lyric sections throughout depict the truth of emotion in contrast to the prose sections (Ziefle 311). The poems play a central role in moving the narrative forward, and are the moments when the protagonists express their deepest feelings and desires.

It is likely that the "Faunus," in addition to being an example of the prose eclogue, also contained an autobiographical element and related closely to Schwarz's friendship with Judith Tanck. It was written in late 1637 or early 1638, immediately prior to Judith leaving Greiffswald in order to marry David Mevius (Ziefle 290). This piece is thematically closely related to the sonnet cycle and the "Magddichte über den Abscheid meiner liebsten Freundinnen J.T. auß Greiffswaldt“ (Schwarz II: D1v), both of which were written in the same period.

The sonnet cycle was dedicated to Peter Vanselau, a close friend of Samuel Gerlach (Schwarz II: O2v). In the dedicatory poem which precedes the collection of sonnets, Gerlach addresses Vanselau as "mein vertrautester Herr Bruder" and indicates that only the two of them understand why these sonnets are being dedicated to Vanselau.

Bey mihr ist dern keines schuldig/ zeugen kann mihr dis Papyr/
(daß ichs aber ihm zuschikk/ ist die Uhrsach' uns alleine/
und sunst niemand nicht/ bewust/ wihr nuhr wissens/ was ich meyne)
wie ich treubeständig bleibe so/ wie vohr/ noch für und für. (Schwarz II: O2v)

The interspersed lines, in parentheses, leave the reader with a bit of a mystery. They expand the sonnet by two lines and, while fitting within the rhythmic and rhyme structure, are not necessary to the sonnet. It can just as easily be read without the two lines. There are a number of possible reasons the sonnet cycle could have been dedicated to Vanselau, a few of which would admit to the level of secrecy alluded to by Gerlach. It is possible that the poems were dedicated to Vanselau, because he and Schwarz had been secretly engaged, or perhaps because Schwarz had been infatuated with Vanselau, who attended the university in Greifswald for a time. There is some evidence for this in two "Bindelbriefe," discussed below, which appear to have been written to Vanselau (identified only by the initials P.V.) by Schwarz. It is also possible that the *Uhrsach* relates to homoerotic feelings between Gerlach and Vanselau, as posited by Erica Greber and Dirk Niefanger.

The lines penned in the sonnets echo many of the sentiments written by Schwarz to her friend Judith Tanck, giving the impression that unnamed beloved in the sonnets might have been Tanck. Erika Greber explored the homoerotic elements of these two relationships, positing that Gerlach's choice to dedicate the sonnet cycle arose out of his homoerotic attraction to Vanselau, justified by the fact that the sonnets indicate Schwarz's homoerotic attraction to Judith Tanck.

It is in answering this question that "Faunus" should be examined more closely. In "Faunus," the figure of Daphne is identified in the text as synonymous with "J.T.," which could imply that Daphne represents Judith Tanck (Ziefle 291). "J.T." is playfully inserted

as a typical way to address someone in a letter, and with this reading could mean, "Ihrer Tugend," with the letter "J" used for the letter "I," which could certainly be done in this period. For this reason, it is not definitive that "J.T." refers to Judith Tanck, but there are a number of pieces of evidence that point in this direction. As with the sonnets, certain lines spoken by Faunus to Daphne echo remarks made by Schwarz in her friendship poems to Tanck, allowing the reading of Schwarz as Faunus and Tanck as Daphne.

Dirk Niefanger emphasizes that bucolic works stress the private, as opposed to the political, and are generally a love story (Niefanger 201). Schwarz's "Faunus" certainly fits within this tradition. Further, the pastoral mode served a moral-didactic purpose, showing love as a destructive force that must be overcome by reason (Niefanger 202). The extreme pain and melancholy associated with inappropriate love, which is to say a love that stands outside of social control, is contrasted with the sweetness of a marriage based on reason and good sense, thus a marriage that is within the bounds of social order (Breuer 579). Ingo Breuer writes, "das Sehnen der Liebenden [bleibt] ein negatives Exemplum für eine das Individuum und die Gesellschaft gefährdende, also dringend therapiebedürftige Krankheit und Narrheit" (Breuer 579). The happy ending comes from the separation of the two lovers, who have been able to overcome their temporary insanity by means of reason and a reaffirmation of social order (Breuer 579). Bucolic or pastoral works such as the "Schäfferroman" (pastoral novel) or "Prosaekloge" (prose eclogue) promote the virtues of *constantia* and *prudentia* while criticizing the dishonesty inherent in *simulatio* or *dissimulatio* (Breuer 581).

In "Faunus," the prologue sets the scene in an idyllic location, without any reference to a real geographical place. This is once again in contrast with Schwarz's immediate model, "Hercinie," as well as later imitators of Opitz, who all depicted real locations within Germany as the idyllic Arcadia of their poems. It is nonetheless possible

that Schwarz envisioned the "Faunus" as taking place at Fretow, which she frequently depicted as a *locus amoenus*. It is springtime, love is in the air, the world is at peace, and every living creature is behaving according to its proper place in the world. The Shepherds and Shepherdesses have come together to build a temple to Venus and celebrate the marriage of two of their number. Faunus sees Daphne and is immediately smitten because of her "divine beauty." He tries to get near her, in order to express his love for her, but cannot because of the "unzeitige Bloedigkeit" (shyness), which keeps him from speaking. Their friendship begins, and Cupid soon works on Daphne's heart, so that she, too, loves Faunus. However, they are both unable to express their true feelings and both suffer great melancholy because of this inability. Both turn to poetry and song to express the depth of their true feelings. Throughout this piece, poetry is the vehicle for expressing overwhelming emotion.

The happiness they later find upon confessing their feelings to one another is short-lived. That very evening, Daphne's father announces to her that he has decided to send her to live with a relative for at least half a year, because he and her mother are getting older and cannot properly care for her. In her great devastation, she is unable to protest and simply goes to bed without eating and suffers through the night without sleep. She has only one day before her departure and so goes to meet Faunus, who is still unaware of their fate. But he overhears the song of lament she sings while waiting for him and they spend much of the day in sad silence. They are finally able to comfort one another and reaffirm their feelings of love. The two vow to remain true, even in absence, and to keep the flame alive by exchanging letters. This is the first use of letters as part of a prose eclogue (Ziefle 304).

When he intercepts one of Daphne's letters, her father learns of their love affair and is suddenly reminded that her hand is already promised in marriage to a shepherd

named Daphnis. For this reason he hastens her return and immediately begins planning the wedding. Daphne is initially overjoyed at the prospect of seeing Faunus, but then distressed about the impending marriage. She once again cannot come up with any argument against her father's will, and so unwillingly obeys it, hoping all the while for a chance to speak with Faunus. Her father carefully keeps them from meeting. Faunus hears of the wedding and is struck by Daphne's cruelty and betrayal. In a wedding poem, he wishes her happiness as great as the pain she's caused him, and then invites her and all of the party to the location near the Venus temple where they spent their first joyous time together. They join him and he sits down under a tree, where he sings a song contrasting faithful, true love with disloyalty and betrayal and dies on the spot of a broken heart.

On the surface, Schwarz's "Faunus" seems to conform to the characteristics noted above of a typical prose eclogue. The form was inspired by Opitz's "Hercinie," while the content bears a closer resemblance to the matter discussed in Barclay's "Argenis," which had been translated from the original Latin into German in 1626 and dealt in part with the separation of two star-crossed lovers, although Barclay's piece fits within the genre of the political novel in a way that Schwarz's does not (Meid 145).

> German individual pastorals are usually set in the sphere of the petty rural aristocracy (Landadel), are conceived as moral cautionary tales, and avoid engaging larger questions of history and politics. […] Their reception was accordingly limited mainly to readers who knew or enjoyed trying to identify the actual people behind the literary masks (Solbach 482).

Schwarz's work fits in part with the definition of the individual pastoral provided by Solbach, in that it does not engage questions of history or politics and that Schwarz appears to have used the literary masks "Faunus" and "Daphne" to hide of the identities of herself and Judith Tanck. It is a love story with pastoral themes, in which all of the

narrative and poetic portions work together to relate the tale of the star-crossed lovers Faunus and Daphne. Only three characters are named throughout -- Faunus, Daphne, and Daphne's intended bridegroom, Daphnis. Daphnis could be a depiction of Judith Tanck's future husband, the jurist David Mevius. It also serves as a cautionary tale, in a certain sense. Both Faunus and Daphne suffer the effects of first love, the effects of which are depicted quite realistically by Schwarz, especially given her own young age. For example, they are struck dumb in each other's presence and Daphne experiences a loss of appetite, sleeplessness and great fear because of her father's pronouncements. At the end of the work, proper social order is reestablished in Daphne's marriage to Daphnis, as her father ordained, and Faunus's death.

This apparent affirmation of social order is called into question by means of the words of the Narrator, a figure who could be seen as expressing the true meaning of the piece. The concluding remarks by this character at the end of the text invite a second, closer reading. Immediately following Faunus's death, the Narrator writes:

> Daphne/ weil sie nunmehr so wohl am Verstande/ als Alter zugenommen/ begunte ihre greuliche Fähler zuerkennen/ und beweinete Ihren treugebliebenen Faunus von Herzen; Mit waß vor Straffe nun der Todt des Edlen Faunus von den Göttern gerochen worden/ ist mir so wenig wissend/ alß mich die iezt verflossene Nacht unter ihrem Schatten die Feder zu führen/ lenger vergönnen will. (Schwarz II: D1r – D1v)

Ziefle interprets these statements as indicative of Schwarz's youth and the fact that she had an incomplete understanding of love (Ziefle 304). It is my contention that Schwarz demonstrates her familiarity with convention by ending this piece in the way that she did, but that she simultaneously undermines and questions both convention and the generally accepted social order it expressed. The lovers, whose improper passion for each other

disrupted social order, were separated in the end, and Daphne married the man her father had chosen for her, Daphnis, thus reestablishing order. This should have been the affirmed choice. But what were Daphne's terrible mistakes, as portrayed by the Narrator, her "greuliche Fähler"? If it were simply a matter of her having succumbed to an improper love, then that charge should have struck both Daphne and Faunus equally. But here Faunus is praised for his loyalty, placing a strong emphasis on *constantia* or *Beständigkeit* and Daphne is censured for appearing to break her vow. By locating the virtue of constancy within a love affair that at first seems contrary to the prevailing social order and thus placing the "proper" marriage in a negative light, the Narrator does not, as expected, affirm the social order that has been reestablished, but points to another, and in the context of this piece perhaps better, order.

The Narrator implicitly and explicitly criticizes Daphne in a number of places throughout the text. Before her second meeting with Faunus, as she wanders around the Venus temple searching for him, she stumbles upon a poem, which Faunus had previously carved into a tree, in which he writes about his suffering due to unrequited love. She then hears him singing a song about a woman named Daphne and his love for her, which ends "O Daphne/ Daphne wehrstu mein/ und möchtest izund bey mir seyn." The Narrator reports that this song assures her that he has the same feelings, but her „übermeßige Freude" and „unzeitige Blödigkeit" keep her from responding. The Narrator then addresses the reader as follows:

> inmassen die Liebe/ meiner gänzlichen Meinung nach/ darum blind gemahlet wird/ daß sie ihr bestes selbst nicht sehen kan. (Schwarz II: A4v)

This implies that Daphne, overcome by strong feeling, does not recognize her chance to create greater happiness for herself, "ihr bestes selbst." Daphne herself is able to express

this in the couplet of her next Sonnet, but is unable to take action. The final couplet reads: "Wer lieben wil/ mus nicht so blöde seyn/ sonst kan er nicht der Liebe Lohn erreichen."

The inability to speak and the inability to recognize truth plague her on two other occasions as well, which are both associated with her father. This figure symbolizes the absolute authority to which she is subject and in both instances, when he announces that she is to leave and again when he tells her she is to be married, she finds herself unable to speak and unable to say anything that will work for her benefit. In the first case, the Narrator writes that because of the sighs that filled her throat, could answer nothing „das zu ihrem besten gereichte" (Schwarz II: B4v). In the second case, after Daphne is again unable to counter her father's will, the Narrator writes that she gave in to her father „auß Unbedachtsamkeit/ (in Meinung/ Sie würde dann alß izo/ und izo als dann mit ihrem Schäffer in stetter Freundschaft leben können)" (Schwarz II: C3v). Rather than being praised as an obedient daughter, she is criticized for not thinking it through and for not recognizing the material difference between friendship and romantic love. She is also criticized because she does not realize that as a married woman she will no longer be able to maintain a relationship with a man who is not her husband.

Daphne, thus, is censured for exactly the qualities that lead to the supposed reestablishment of order in the final wedding. The Narrator is not arguing in favor of social order, but demands instead that Daphne remain true to her love, Faunus, and also, most importantly, true to herself and her own desires. This is a radical affirmation of individual choice, especially by requiring it of a woman in this historical context. Had she confronted her father and made her feelings and wishes known, the story might have had a happy ending, in the sense Schwarz is attempting to create. But Daphne could not create this new order, because she was silenced and also silenced herself.

A further element in this text is the contrast between the poems by Faunus and those by Daphne. Both wrote poetry in public places and sang it aloud. This was part of their early attraction to one another. However, while Faunus frequently etches his poems into permanent structures, most often into the bark of trees, when Daphne etches her poem onto something, it is the rind of a pumpkin, "Kürbis." This is a far more ephemeral material and could indicate the lesser value of Daphne's words, of her voice.

If we read Daphne as a disguised Judith Tanck and Faunus as a disguised Sibylle Schwarz, this work takes on a different significance. This work was composed immediately before Judith Tanck moved away from Greifswald to be married. The poem that immediately follows is the "Magddichte über den Abscheid meiner liebsten Freundinnen J. T. auß Greiffswaldt" (Schwarz II D1v) in which Schwarz graphically laments the loss of her dear friend. Many of the lines of lament are similar to lines from Faunus to Daphne, and the two works seem to have been composed at around the same time.

In the first sixteen lines, Schwarz begs the sun not to shine and the moon not to rise, so that the heavens can cry with her. She then bids farewell to Apollo and the muses, asking that the laurel wreath be taken from her head. Her suffering at the loss is so great, that she writes, "ich stimme wie der Schwan mein eigen Grabe=Liedt/ mir iezund selber an" (Schwarz II: D1v). The lament becomes stronger throughout the poem, until she writes, "Ach möcht ich doch den Ruhm/ den hohen Ruhm doch haben/ daß meiner Freundschafft treu mich in die lange Nacht/ mich durch den bleichen Todt/ ins schwarze Grab gebracht!" (Schwarz II D2r). In the "Magddichte" Schwarz uses the term "Freundschafft," and in the final poem in "Faunus," she uses the term "Liebe," but the sentiment is quite similar. In "Faunus," the lover who had remained constant throughout

does indeed die of the suffering the loss of Daphne has caused, as Schwarz seems to wish for herself. Faunus's final words to Daphne are,

> Nun Daphne gute Nacht/ nun ist mein Lauff erfüllet/
> Ich habe dir gelobt/ zu lieben bis ins Grab/
> wohlan ich liebe noch/ und scheid auch iezund ab/
> so wird die Liebes=Noht zu dieser Zeit gestillet (Schwarz II D1r)

This poem is marked by strong depictions of emotion on the part of the poet. She speaks of her *hohes Leiden* (great suffering) using terms reminiscent of the suffering Petrarchan lover. She represents herself as suffering and loving without measure or goal, even until the grave. This is not in keeping with the neo-Stoic call to maintain an equilibrium of emotion even in the face of great tragedy, to which she makes mention in a larger number of her works. The confusion caused by her suffering is depicted in the lines, "Ja meiner Augen Liecht verfinstert allgemach/ der Tag der ist mir Nacht/ die Nacht die ist mir Tag" (Schwarz II: D2r). In another conventional Petrarchan device she evokes the pathos of her situation using the antithetical placement of two contradictory statements. She is no longer sure of reality, whether it is day or night.

In the final verses, she praises friendship as the highest good and reaffirms a neo-Stoic worldview in the final line, "Ihr Menschen/ liebet nichts/ so kan euch nichts betrüben" (Schwarz II: D2r). This final line is a call for moderation of emotion, but its appearance in the final line is almost as an after-thought, especially in light of the strong sentiment expressed in the rest of the poem.

This work also demonstrates the inherent ambiguities present in some of Schwarz's work, especially in the poems dedicated to her friend Judith Tanck. Whereas Schwarz is sometimes masterful in her subversion of dominant rhetorical devices to serve her own purposes, within the poems to Judith Tanck she appears to give vent to her

emotions. The combination of reading "Faunus" with the "Magddichte" and also in correlation with the sonnet series leads to the speculation that Schwarz could indeed have had a strong emotional attachment to Judith Tanck. The exact nature of her feelings is unclear, but the texts do provide evidence of her lived experience and the expression of felt emotion at a time when this was not a conventional part of poetry. Although Schwarz must at some point have acknowledged that Judith Tanck, in moving away from Greifswald and marrying, was following social convention, she nonetheless problematized exactly this behavior in "Faunus," arguing against social convention and for "Daphne" to remain true to her first love. We should not read this as indicating, necessarily, that Judith Tanck reciprocated Schwarz's feelings. The Bindelbriefe and Name Day poems dedicated to Tanck are replete with references to Tanck not returning Schwarz's feelings, and also indicate that Tanck may have been one of Schwarz's detractors. If we take Schwarz's depiction at face value, their relationship appears to have been largely one-sided, with Schwarz pursuing Tanck in a desire to win her love or esteem or friendship. The final section of this piece could be another demand that Tanck be faithful to Schwarz, but it could also be read in more general terms as an affirmation of romantic relationships (and perhaps marriages) based on mutual love and affection over against the social convention of marrying someone chosen by a girl's family as a suitable husband. This reading is, to my mind the stronger of the two. Again, it may not relate to the specific experiences Tanck and Schwarz had, and could be read as a general argument, but it could also be speaking to the lived experiences of both girls. Perhaps Tanck loved another and did not wish to marry David. Perhaps Schwarz herself wished to marry someone, who was not thought suitable by her family. The Schwarz family worked for years against the marriage between Emarentia and Hermann Querin, but in that case the young woman was able to convince her father to change his mind and the two lovers

were finally united. Although the link between literary representation and historical reality remains tenuous at best, it is tantalizing to seek out the minute indications of an author's emotional experience and try to piece together a better understanding of their life.

THE POET AND POETRY IN THE WORK OF SUSANNE ELISABETH ZEIDLER

True Poets and Lovers of Poetry

Zeidler, like Schwarz, affirms many of the commonly held ideas concerning a poet. Unlike Schwarz, she does not see herself as a poet and points to her own lack of education as a reason why she should not properly be called a poet. This is a significant distinction. As she writes in the introduction to her collection,

> Ich zweiffele nicht/ es werden sich etliche finden/ so dieses gering Wercklein nicht wenig durch die Hechel ziehen/ und für ein unnöthiges Ding und vorwitzige Vermessenheit ausruffen werden/ dieweil dem Frauenzimmer übel anstehe/ wenn sie sich dergleichen Sachen über ihren Verstand/ und dazu ihrer Profession nicht werden unterstehen wollen (Zeidler 10).

In the very first lines of her work, Zeidler assumes that her work will be criticized, because it is addressing material above the understanding of a young woman, a "Frauenzimmer." However, it is clear that by the time of this publication, Zeidler can look back upon a steady tradition of female authorship and therefore may not have seen a need to name the long tradition of female writers, because she considers them already familiar to scholars. As noted above, the tradition of writing catalogues of notable women which began with Boccaccio significantly increased at the end of the seventeenth century, when Zeidler was writing, and expanded further in the early eighteenth century, when most of the catalogues from this period currently available were published. It is for this

reason that Zeidler can confidently state, "Denn warum solte das Frauenzimmer nicht auch von Natur fähig seyn allerhand Künste und Sprachen zu lernen/ so wohl als die Mannspersonen/ wie solches mit vielen Exempeln könnte bewiesen werden/ das aber unnöthig ist/ weil solche denen Gelehrten ohne diß genugsam bekannt sind" (Zeidler 11). As those who are educated are already familiar with the tradition of female poets and artists, it is unnecessary for Zeidler to list them. Indeed, just as Schwarz distinguished between those who are *verständig* and *unverständig*, those who are "in the know" have accepted the matter, so any criticism must come from the *ungelehrt*, the uneducated. This is a skillful self-defense, as it places any who choose to argue against her in the camp of the intellectually benighted.

While offering a similar defense to that of Schwarz, Zeidler changes the tone of the argument somewhat. Using similar language to that of Schwarz, she also claims that critics are *unverständig*, and writes that her supporters are *verständig*.

> Wird sich nu etwa ein ungläubiger Thomas finden/ der nicht in seinen Kopff bringen noch gläuben kann/ das Jungfern Verse machen/ der mag es bleiben lassen. Man wird ihm deswegen nicht alle Heiligen her schweren/ ich lebe in der guten Hoffnung/ es werden verständige Leute hievon viel anders judiciren (Zeidler 11).

The ways in which Zeidler writes of her critics, as well as the evidence available in her works, makes it clear that she primarily faced opposition from male critics. In the text by Schwarz, the gender of the critics is not quite so clear, making it possible she faced criticisms from women and men. Zeidler specifically alludes to "doubting Thomas" in the preface to her work and refers to a "Rhapsodius," who clearly does not believe that women can write poetry in the "Beglaubigung der Jungfer Poeterey" (Zeidler 48). Further, the *Bescheidenheitstopoi* she used as well as her defense of her own justification

in writing poetry are different from Schwarz and point perhaps to a shift in attitudes towards female poets.

While Schwarz was writing in a period when there were relatively few female poets and a woman writing could be seen as a *Wunderding* in the dedicatory poem written by Johan Reginchom to the second volume of her work, Zeidler was writing at a time when more and more women were beginning to write. It was becoming common, especially in Lutheran northern Germany, to print funeral booklets on the death of friends and family members, and ever more women were beginning to contribute to these works. Likewise the proliferation of catalogues of notable women led to an increase in the number of women inspired to write, as did proximity to another female writer. In the case of Margaretha Susanna Kuntsch, for example, a contemporary of Zeidler, a circle of sixteen further poets formed around her in the area of Altenburg, all related to her by either friendship or marriage (Carrdus "Margaretha Susanna von Kuntsch" 151). Whereas Schwarz represents herself as the equivalent of male poets in the midst of a larger poetic tradition, to which she belongs by dint of a parallel female tradition, Zeidler represents herself as simply a *Liebhaberin* of poetry, not an actual poet. She differentiates herself from male poets by indicating that she realizes that true poetry requires a learned background, which she herself does not have. Indeed Zeidler, like Schwarz is clearly influenced by the tradition emanating from Opitz, but also the later tradition in the writings of Zesen, Harrsdörffer and Buchner. In spite of this, she very carefully distinguishes between herself and "true" (male) poets when she writes,

> dieweil ich von Kindheit auf eine Liebhaberin der deudschen Verse gewesen/ und mich in Lesung derselben sonderlich delectiret/ wiewohl ich mich vor keine Poetin ausgebe/ und meine Verse gar gerne von gelehrten Leuten corrigiren lasse/

massen ich auch niemahls von iemand herinnen unterrichtent worden (Zeidler 10).

Zeidler points to her own lack of education in a way that Schwarz never does, and Zeidler draws a strong contrast between herself and the prototypical male, educated poet. Rather than place herself within the poetic tradition as Schwarz did, she claims only to be a lover of poetry, not a poet, because she did not have the education necessary for that claim. It is significant that she uses the term "Poetin," the female version of the term. This leaves open the possibility of there being female poets, but stresses that she herself is not one, because she does not have the necessary education. It is also significant to note that Zeidler chooses to represent herself in this way using *Bescheidenheitstopoi* to deflect criticism from men who claimed that she could not have written the printed or published poems she had signed. She depicts herself as an amateur in the truest sense: she is a lover of German-language poetry and composes because of that love. This expression of innate pleasure and the desire to write that arises out of that pleasure reminds once again of the story of Eleonore von dem Knesebeck, who felt such a strong desire to write that she did so on the walls of her prison cell with chalk and coal when nothing else was available.

Like Schwarz, Zeidler also affirmed that writing poetry did not in any way interfere with her other duties, but she took this statement a step further. Whereas Schwarz simply wrote that she did not neglect her duties and then proceeded, in her poems, to demonstrate why poetry was a more important task than those duties, Zeidler writes that she did not take the time to write her poems at all. Rather, she used the composition of poetry in her head as a means to keep her thoughts focused on that which is good and wholesome, while doing other work with her hands. This statement was also repeated in the dedicatory poem her father contributed to the collection, in which he writes,

Wie liebste Tochter du der Tugend dich ergeben/
Und iederzeit geführt ein züchtig erbar Leben/
So hastu ebenfalls die Musen auch geliebt/
Und in der Dichterkunst dich sonderlich geübt.
Wie diese Büchlein weist. Wann deine Hand verrichtet
Ein euserliches Werck/ da hat zugleich gedichtet
Das Hertz ein feines Lied: Hast also nichts versäumt
An Haus-Arbeit/ wenn dein Poetengeist gereimt (Zeidler 13).

Zeidler herself wrote that two things caused her to write the collection of poems, "erstliche damit ich bey meinen häußlichen Geschäfften und euserlicher Handarbeit auch zugleich meinen Gedancken keinen Müssiggang gestattete/ noch Anlaß gebe etwas unnützes oder sündliches zu gedencken" (Zeidler 10). Schwarz wrote that her poetry should serve the glory of God, but Zeidler expressed this even more strongly by indicating that she used poetry herself and the composition of it in her head while her hands were hard at work to avoid even the possibility of sinful thoughts. The act of writing was not only to bring honor to God, but also an active way to keep herself from bringing Him dishonor. It could be that she felt that the simple justification that it was necessary to bring honor was not enough, and that it was now necessary that she take it a step further than it was necessary for Schwarz to do.

Zeidler writes so that she can occupy her mind while doing housework, and keep her thoughts from being *unnütz* or *sündlich*, i.e. useless or sinful. This is similar to the argument brought by Schwarz that, had it not been for poetry, she might have gone down a sinful path. In the case of Zeidler, it is merely that she would have thought sinful thoughts. This is an extreme interpretation of the Protestant work ethic, which requires that the hands be active, so that they may not be the devil's tools. Zeidler claims that

poetry kept her mind likewise occupied and on the path of virtue. Poetry is a social benefit, which leads to social order, and is good for the entire community. In addition to perhaps being an extreme expression of Protestant work ethic, it is also a strong and subtle argument in favor of herself, as a woman, to compose poetry. How could a critic argue against something that kept her mind focused on positive, good thoughts?

The second reason Zeidler gives for writing is far more personal. She relates that life in the village is lonely, and does not afford her the social contacts with like-minded friends. For this reason, also, she turned to poetry as a comfort in loneliness.

> Zum andern/ dieweil ich bey meinem einsamen Dorfleben von aller anmuthigen Gesellschaft andern Frauenzimmers entfernet/ sonst keinen Ergetzlichkeit finden können/ als habe ich solche in feinen Historien-Büchern/ Lusterweckenden Gesängen/ und dergleichen Gedichten gesuchet (Zeidler 10).

Zeidler asserts that life in the village (*Dorf*) was lonely, because she was separated from the "anmuthigen Gesellschaft andern Frauenzimmers." By this she almost certainly did not mean that there were no other women in the village, but rather that there were none who shared her delight in poetry and writing, and perhaps her desire to discuss this. It is for this reason that many of her poems were dedicated or written to the two Sikelius sisters, with whom she seemed to share an appreciation of poetry, although no works by either sister has survived.

There is no sense in Zeidler's work that she is criticized by people in the local community in Fienstedt, where it is likely her work was not as well-known as seems to have been the case for Schwarz. She did, however, face the criticism from a wider community that her printed poems could not possibly have been written by a woman. Zeidler contributed dedicatory poems to works by other writers, a fact demonstrated by the poem "Auff Herrn Bened. Kunstmanns Büchlein" in the collection (Zeidler 47). She

also received poems in her honor, to which she responded in kind, as in the poem "Antwort auff S. Excell. Herrn I.F.S. Ehren=Gedicht" (Zeidler 90).

Like Schwarz, Zeidler felt it necessary to write explicitly that the act of composing poems did not in any way preclude her from fulfilling her domestic duties. As noted above, she goes further than Schwarz by claiming only to compose in her head. Schwarz, in turn, writes that she must occasionally work through the night in order to complete her works. Other women also expressed this experience as, for example, Gertrud Möller did when expressing her thanks to Sigmund von Birken, who had invited her to join the Pegnesischer Blumenorden (Carrdus "Women's Writing" 882). Möller wrote that she "regrets that she has been able to cultivate her poetic talent only in the evenings, when half asleep" (Carrdus "Women's Writing" 882). In "Faunus," which begins the second volume of her poems, Schwarz writes that she is unable to record all that occurred when Daphne arrived at her uncle's home, "weil die Nacht/ darin ich dieses zu beschreiben entschlossen/ fast über die helffte verflossen/ und ich also die Früestunde wohl werde mit zu Hülffe nehmen müßen" (Schwarz II: E2v). This is also a conventional rhetorical device, used in a text to indicate why a certain portion was not written in more detail, but it is also a realistic consideration of the time that might have been available for Schwarz to use for writing. Although the Schwarz family, a prominent patrician family in Greifswald, likely had domestic servants, the funeral sermon for Schwarz includes that she shared the duties for running her father's household, which were not inconsiderable, with her sister Emarentia, and that Schwarz herself also assisted her father in his business dealings by writing letters (Ziefle "Nachwort" 13*).

Zeidler indicates that she composed her poems while doing other work, rather than spending that time writing them down. They would then clearly have been written at a point that did not in any way interfere with her work. This is also recorded in the

congratulatory poems contributed to the beginning of the collection by her father and husband. Her father wrote, "[w]ann deine Hand verrichtet // Ein euserliches Werck/ da hat zugleich gedichtet // Das Hertz ein feines Lied: Hast also nichts versäumt // An Haus-Arbeit/ wenn dein Poetengeist gereimt" (Zeidler 13). And her husband wrote, "[b]ey deiner Hand=Arbeit hat fleißig sich geübet // Dein kluger Geist zugleich in der Poeterey/ Die du von Jugend auff gelobet und geliebet" (Zeidler 16).

The poems we are confronted with in Zeidler's collection are, generally speaking, of a more personal and intimate nature than those by Schwarz. This can be explained by the relative difference of their social position, the size of the city of Greifswald in relation to the village of Fienstedt, and that most of Zeidler's poems were addressed to close friends and family members, while those of Schwarz were addressed to a much larger social circle, as befits her role as daughter of the mayor of Greifswald. The collection by Zeidler does, however, include three poems written to notable members of society, indicating that she was both capable and willing to serve a social function on behalf of her family. The poems included were directed to the new Lord of the Mansfeld region, where her family lived, the city administrator of Eißleben, and two of the noblewomen in or near Detershagen, where her husband served as pastor. The poem written in honor of the Great Elector (*Kurfürst*) Frederick William will be discussed in the next chapter. It demonstrates the level of learning she had attained and contains far more mythological allusions than her other work, indicative of that she was able to adjust her writing to fit the occasion. Niekus Moore surmises that they were invited to Halle when the Kurfürst visited because of her father's pastoral position, and that Zeidler might have personally delivered the poem. Zeidler and likely her brother would have accompanied their father, who was blind at that point. That poem was the basis of her later fame, as, until her work was republished by Cornelia Niekus Moore it was one of only two of Zeidler's poems

familiar to scholars. The other of those two poems is the "Beglaubigung der Jungfer Poeterey," discussed in the next section.

Beglaubigung der Jungfer Poeterey

Zeidler wrote this poem to defend herself from the accusation that the poems published in her name had actually been written by a man. In the introduction to the collection of poems, she indicates that she ceased writing because of this accusation. Schwarz likewise claimed in a number of poems that external criticism brought her almost to the point of giving up her lyre. Although in the case of Schwarz this argument is used rhetorically to increase the *pathos* in her work, it is also possible that she had indeed considered ceasing to write because of external criticism. So, both Zeidler and Schwarz indicate in their works that they reacted to criticism by self-silencing, or choosing not to write. Zeidler indicates that she not only ceased writing, but that several of her works were lost, indicating perhaps that she destroyed these in reaction to the criticism.

> Das es aber in Druck gegangen/ ist solches fast wieder meinen Willen geschehen/ aus der Ursach/ weil sich etliche gefunden/ welche die von mir verfertigten Gedichte nicht vor meine/ sondern frembde Arbeit gehalten/ darunter ich meinen Nahmen schriebe/ und für die Meinigen ausgebe/ deßwegen ichs auch endlich überdrüssig worden/ als ein unnützes Ding wenig geachtet und hingeworffen/ so das auch viel davon verlohren worden/ (Zeidler 11).

This section brings out another common *humilitas* topos in the work of Zeidler and Schwarz, namely that the works were printed almost against their will. Gerlach records that Schwarz was willing for her work to be published, but only if her name could be left out or disguised in some way (Schwarz I: 1). He agreed to this request, but decided to

publish in her name after she passed away. It is notable that Schwarz did not request that her gender be disguised and it is evident from her work that she wrote using both the masculine and feminine voice. The strong poem in defense of her writing, "Ein Gesang Wider den Neidt," which was clearly intended to be included in the published works, definitively identifies the gender of the speaker, and provides a defense for women writing poetry.

Zeidler indicates that the publication of the work occurred almost against her will. She records further that it was her brother who pushed her to publish, and who also collected the poems, copied them, and prepared them for print (Zeidler 11). This seems to indicate almost no participation on the part of Zeidler herself, which makes her claim, at the end of the introductory letter, to have decided to publish as a gift to the friends she was leaving behind somewhat odd.

> Und letztlich habe ich auch darum diesen meinen Jungferlichen Zeitvertreiber in Druck gegeben/ dieweil ich künfftig durch Gottes Schickung meinen Stand verendern werde/ und also von meinen guten Bekanten/ lieben Freundinnen/ und Gespielen scheiden/ und über 10. Meilweges von ihnen reisen muß/ denenselben gleichwohl ein kleines Gedächtnüß hinterlassen möchte/ hoffende/ sie werden alles in besten vermercken/ und mit beharrlicher Affection zugethan verbleiben der Autorin (Zeidler 11).

So, while she indicates on the one hand, that her brother prepared the work for publication, she indicates on the other she chose to publish in order to leave behind a remembrance for her friends. McGrath noted that the *topos* that a woman was publishing or writing against her will is a conventional *Bescheidenheitstopos* in this period (McGrath 14). That fact that Zeidler's own voice predominates so strongly in this publication belies the assertion that it was published almost against her will, and gives credence to the

statement that she herself chose to publish. The female-oriented nature of the work is on almost every page, including the frontispiece. The title image is an entirely female, domestic space, depicting Athena and two women inside a room. Behind them, seen through the open door, is a landscape that shows a city in the background at the top of a hill. Inside the room are a number of symbolic objects: an owl, an inkwell, books, a writing desk, a distaff and a spinning wheel. The owl symbolizes wisdom and the goddess Athena, who holds a lyre in her hands and is wearing armor. The books, inkwell and desk symbolize the act of writing. The distaff and spinning wheel symbolize female work. The two young women appear to be receiving instruction from Athena. The following page is the title page. The only name present on that page is that of Susanne Elisabeth Zeidler. It does not contain the name of her brother or of a printer or publisher. Thus far only female figures have been seen, and only a woman's name has appeared. The following page is the dedication. It is addressed to "Der Wohlgebohrnen/ Hoch=Ehr= und Tugend=belobtesten Frauen/ Fr. Hedwig Barbara/ gebohrnen von Oppen/ … Meiner hohen Gönnerinn" (Zeidler 1). This page does include the name of the husband of Oppen, but the names and descriptions of women predominate. The next few pages contain the dedicatory poem to Oppen, and the introductory letter to the reader. Thus, while Zeidler claims that this publication took place almost against her will and at the instigation of her brother, for the first several pages it is a female-dominated space. The introductory letter is then followed by four congratulatory poems, contributed by her father, her brother, her husband and Benedict Drebesium, pastor in Burg. There is one further poem in the collection written by her brother, "Seiner Lieben Schwester Jungfr. Susanne Elisabeth Zeidlerin/ Poetin zum Neuen Jahr überreicht von ihren [sic] Bruder Johann Gottfried Zeidler/ Käyserl. Edlen Poeten und Pastore Substituto zu Fiensted 2c.

1680," which appears as poem XXII in the collection (Zeidler 79). Otherwise everything is written by Zeidler.

This is in sharp contrast to Schwarz's collection, which is introduced by Gerlach, and contains congratulatory poems from his circle of friends and acquaintances in Gdansk rather than anyone in Greifswald. Further, as Schwarz notes in the letter dated April 10, 1637 (Schwarz I: 1), she did not write all of the titles to the poems. This creates a certain amount of doubt in the reader and gives the impression that we are encountering Schwarz's work through a masculine filter. Although there is certainly the sense that she knew the works would be published, and might have participated in the collection of works for the first volume, the reader is unclear as to how much might have been changed. We must take Gerlach at his word, when he claims that he did not change any of the poems, even when he felt that their sense was unclear. This has led some to argue that the poems were actually written by Gerlach and published under Schwarz's name (Niefanger 111), but there does not seem to be adequate evidence for that. It would not explain the Judith Tanck poems, nor many of the idiosyncratic statements made by Schwarz. It also would not fit the time-period. While it was not uncommon to find men ventriloquizing the female voice and naïve, "Stegreif" (improvisational) poetry in the eighteenth century because there was a demand for same,[58] that is not the case in the early seventeenth century. Furthermore, if Gerlach had truly wished to publish using a female pseudonym, it seems somewhat foolhardy to choose a real woman, whose family could react negatively to the use of her name. He takes great care to assure the reader that the poems were taken directly from Schwarz's manuscript, "vohn Worte zu Worte/ ja fast

58 For an excellent discussion of this topic, see Susanne Kord, *Women Peasant Poets in Eighteenth-Century England, Scotland, and Germany: Milkmaids on Parnassus* (Rochester: Camden House, 2003).

vohn Buchstaben zu Buchstaben" (Schwarz I: a4r). In the "Nachschrift an den Leser" Gerlach also writes that the mistakes that crept into the publication "auß […] Unachtsamkeit der Aufseher" [through inattentiveness on the part of the supervisors] (Schwarz II: "Nachschrift) caused harm to Sibylle and harm to the work in the form of wounds and "Masern" [measles] (Schwarz II: "Nachschrift"). The images evoke a body harmed by violence and scarred by disease.

This brings us to Zeidler's defense of her right, as a woman, to compose poetry as expressed in the "Beglaubigung der Jungfern Poeterey" which is the tenth poem in the collection. The poem addresses a man named "Rhapsodius" directly, a male figure who does not believe that women are capable of writing poetry. In the preface to her collected works, Zeidler wrote that she destroyed a number of her poems because critics doubted that they had been written by her and accused her of writing her name beneath poems that had in reality been written by men (Zeidler 11). It is possible that this poem is written directly in response to one of her male critics, or simply as a general response to the situation. In this poem, Zeidler makes several points significant to her self-conception as a poet, her justification of female poets, and her self-representation as a writer. Although there are some similarities between the two women, it provides a stark contrast to the arguments put forth by Schwarz in the first poem in her collection, "Ein Gesang Wider den Neid" (Schwarz I: 6). Both women are responding to external critics and are justifying themselves and their choice to write by delineating the space in which women are permitted to write. Schwarz pointed to a history of women's writing, specifically wrote that she did not allow writing to hinder her domestic duties, and then demonstrated that the art of poetry was a higher good than other works, because it placed both the poet and those around the poet on the right path. Further, she remarked that the art of writing poetry was open to women because *Pindus* is open to all those who come with *Demuht*

(humility), a central virtue for women. Although she, in keeping with the tradition within which she was writing and working, held that a poet must be educated, did not specifically discuss the different levels of access to education by men and women, and did not herself use the *Bescheidenheitstopos* that her rhymes were imperfect because she herself did not have enough education to write them properly. As we will see below, Zeidler makes different arguments.

Rhapsodius gläubt nicht das Jungfern Verse machen:
Wie sollte man nu nicht der falschen Meynung lachen?
Wie/ wenn man sagte/ das hochzeitliche Gedicht/
Das Rhapsodus gemacht/ ist seine Arbeit nicht.
Ist dieses müglich/ so kan jenes auch geschehen.
Hat dern Herr Rhapsodus dergleichen nie gesehen?
Ihr Musen Söhne denckt/ ihr seyd es gar allein/
Bey denen Phoebus zeucht mit seinen Künsten ein.
O nein/ ihr irret euch: Die Pallas pflegt desgleichen
Künst/ Weißheit und Verstand uns Nimphen darzureichen.
Sein wir gleich nicht an Kunst und Gaben gar zu reich/
Noch euch/ ihr Phoebus Volck in allen Stücken gleich
(Denn dieses ist gewiß/ das läßt man wol passiren/
Das euch die freye Kunst vortrefflich kann bezieren/
Dazu euch euer Fürst Apollo Anlaß giebt/
Wenn ihr von Jugend auf Parnassus Hügel liebt)
So werdet ihr doch diß nicht gäntzlich leugnen können/
Das Gott und die Natur uns ebenmäßig gönnen
Was euch gegeben ist/ und das uns offtmahls nicht

Das Tichten/ sondern nur die Zeit dazu gebricht.

Es fehlt uns nicht an Witz/ und andern guten Gaben/

Nur das man nicht dazu Gelegenheit kann haben.

Wenn man uns so wie euch/ die Künste gösse ein/

So wolten wir euch auch hierinnen gleicher seyn. (Zeidler 48)

In the first six lines she directly addresses Rhapsodius and mocks his "falsche Meynung" (false opinion) that women cannot write poetry. In line six she asks rhetorically if he has never seen such a thing. This is an allusion to the number of women writing at this time and also to the number of extant catalogues of learned women that list women writers. It seems ridiculous to the narrator that he would not be familiar with this tradition and with that women were writing. In lines seven to ten she begins the heart of her argument, which is to contrast the *Musen Söhne* who accompany Phoebus with female poets, who are mentored and guided by Pallas. In her other works she maintains this separation and it is evocatively portrayed on the frontispiece to her collected poems. Although women have a separate source of inspiration, they nonetheless are likewise ("desgleichen") given the arts, wisdom and understanding. Another key piece in understanding Zeidler's other works is the use of the words "Musen Söhn*e*" (sons of the Muses) to refer to male poets and "Nimphen" (nymphs) to refer to female poets.

In lines eleven to twenty-two she addresses the equality of men and women in the arts. She begins by granting that men are better suited for the arts, but quickly turns this argument on its head by noting that this is because they spend their entire youth at the feet of Apollo. Although she does not explicitly state it, the unspoken alternative is that women do not have this opportunity. She then makes this argument more clearly when she writes that God and Nature have given women equal (ebenmäßig) gifts, but that women do not have the time to practice and hone their art, while men are able to do so

from the time they are children. Thus, she states that it is not a lack of talent but rather a lack of time that affects women's ability to write poetry in as accomplished a fashion as men.

Zeidler's argument in favor of a woman's ability to write poetry anticipates that of Virginia Woolf over two hundred years later. It is not that women are unable to write, but simply that they do not have the time to hone their craft. She writes that women are not lacking in wit or other talents, but rather in opportunity. The final couplet makes reference to the work of Harsdörffer when she writes, "[w]enn man uns so wie euch/ die Künste gösse ein/ So wolten wir euch auch hierinnen gleicher seyn" (Zeidler 48). Thus, if women had the same opportunities, they would be able to produce work of similar quality. The reference to "eingießen" alludes to Georg Philipp Harsdörffer, who published *Poetischer Trichter. Die Teutsche Dicht- und Reimkunst, ohne Behuf der lateinischen Sprache, in VI Stunden einzugießen* in 1647. Using the image of a funnel, he claimed to be able to pour knowledge of the poetic arts, without reference to the Latin language, into the heads of aspiring poets in only six hours. Zeidler draws on this image and says that if the arts were poured into women's heads in the same way, they would be "more similar" (*gleicher*) to men.

In the introductory letter to the reader, Zeidler also notes, that, as someone who is not *gelehrt*, she should not move beyond her station and abilities. She also mentions this idea and uses it rhetorically to comic effect in the poem on the marriage of Samuel Müller and Magdalena Sophia Glaß when she defends her right, as an unmarried woman, to write about things she cannot yet know about, such as the love between a husband and wife.

Doch stille/ weil man von den Leuten

Offt ein unzeitig Urtheil spricht

Man möchte etwa übel deuten

Diß hochzeitliche Reimgedicht/

Ich darff mich weiter nicht erkühnen

Noch mehr zu schreiben/ ohn Gefahr/

Ich möchte schlechtes Lob verdienen

Bey Jener keuschen Jungfer Schaar

Ja mancher würde bald gedencken/

Ist denn das Lieben so gemein/

Daß von dergleichen Liebes Schwenken

Die Jungerfern auch berichtet seyn

Zwar der Person so die geschrieben

Ist selbst die Liebe nicht bekannt/

Wie trägt sie denn also Belieben

Zu preisen den verliebten Stand? (Zeidler 29)

By voicing the criticism herself, she deflects criticism that might come from others. It also gives her the opportunity to argue against it. Rhetorically this question allows Zeidler to prolong the meditation on love in the poem. She responds to the rhetorical question of whether one can write about that which one has not experienced by enumerating a number of persons who write directly from experience, thus affirming the commonplace that one should write what one knows: the hunter who writes of hunting, the warrior who tells of war, the sailor who sings of the dangers of sea, and the monk, who can tell about the cloisters and chapels. Zeidler then writes that a child of Venus, i.e., one who has experienced love, can speak of it. But then she continues, that it is possible to write of something one experience second-hand, by seeing others who are in love.

"Wer wolte dem doch wiedersprechen, Darein sich alle Welt begiebt" (Zeidler 29). So it is also possible for her to write of it, because "all the world" will experience it.

A Room of Their Own

Musen Söhne und Nimphen

Of significance in the work of Schwarz and Zeidler, is the creation of a discursive space in which they write. In the poem "Beglaubigung der Jungfer Poeterey," Zeidler differentiates between the "Musen Söhne," who receive instruction from Phoebus and the Nymphs, who receive instruction in the arts from Pallas Athena. Zeidler uses these terms throughout her work to create a discursively female space in which she writes. While there is nothing unconventional about casting men as the sons of muses learning poetry at the feet of Phoebus and women as nymphs, the extent to which Zeidler maintains the distance between the two and considers herself part of the second group, demonstrates her desire to create a space free of male criticism, in which she and her fellow nymphs can create poetry together. Although Zeidler believed women and men could be equal, given equal opportunities, she constructed the discursive space within which she could work in a somewhat different fashion than Sibylle Schwarz. Schwarz, as noted above, primarily saw herself as a poet and wrote within that male-oriented tradition. Zeidler, on the other hand, constructed a female space within which she could write.

For one thing, Zeidler wrote that *Nimphen*, female poets, received their inspiration from Pallas Athena, while male poets learned at the feet of Phoebus. They were the "Musen Söhne … bey denen Phoebus zeucht mit seinen Künsten ein," while women were the nymphs, "[d]ie Pallas pflegt desgleichen Künst/ Weißheit und Verstand … darzureichen" (Zeidler 48). In the poem, "Echo auf eines klugen Phoebus Sohns Lob-gedicht," she refers to male poets as "Phöbus Held" and "der edle Musen Sohn," who

honors “die schlechte Nimphe“ with his poem (Zeidler 36 – 37). She further refers to that male poets are honored after having spent years studying at the feet of Phoebus and practicing poetry, which in turn earns them the honor of the laurel wreath (37). Using a *humilitas topos*, she writes that she is not worthy to write a poem in honor of him, but that she will leave that to those who are learned (38). As this is written in the context of a 68-line poem in gratitude for the poem he had previously written in her honor, the statement of humility on her part cannot be taken at face value.

In the poems to the Sikelius sisters, her dear friends and fellow admirers of poetry, Zeidler addresses them as “Geehrtes Nimphen Volck” (41), “liebe Schwestern” (41), “geliebte Freundinnen” (42), and writes that her poem is “aus keines Poeten Gehirne geflossen/ dem etwan Apollo die Lippen gerührt” (42). Although she allows that Pallas could adorn a male poet with the arts and wisdom (42), and that Phoebus can paint their fields with this bright shining light (43), the discursive poetic space she creates and shares with the Sikelius sisters is primarily peopled with female figures: Pallas, Diana, Flora, Ceres and Echo (43).

Laus ruris and Ideal Friendship

Sibylle Schwarz viewed herself as standing within the tradition of male poets, although she also acknowledged that some of the criticism she faced was because of her gender. Rather than creating a discursively feminine space, as Zeidler did, Schwarz instead idealized Fretow, the family’s country home, in which they could retreat from the harsh realities of city life in a city which had been turned into a garrison town by first the Imperial and then the Swedish troops, as the *locus amoenus* in which poetry can flow freely.

Ziefle notes that the ideal of friendship, which Schwarz describes as the highest good, is the most important motif in her work (Schwarz 12*). Schwarz combines the idealization of friendship and the refuge from difficulty one can find in the society of good friends with Fretow, where the family had a very real refuge from the exigencies of war. Christian Schwarz purchased Fretow in 1631 (Ziefle 12* n. 17). The refuge then was also associated, in the mind of Schwarz, with the time after the loss of her mother, who had died in 1630.

Schwarz thus combines two traditional topoi, the *laus ruris* motif and the cult of friendship. The *laus ruris* motif originated in the works of Vergil and was a popular motif in the seventeenth century (Lohmeier 9). The *laus ruris* motif, in praise of country or rural life, was used in the description idyllic retreats, away from the care of city life. In the case of Schwarz, Fretow become the *locus amoenus* for her court of true friendship. She imagined herself as the "Fürstl. Fretowische Hoffmaisterin" in the introduction to the second Fretow poem, "Wieder die Feinde ihrer Fretowischen Fröhligkeit," dated February 9, 1634 (Schwarz I: 26).

> Ach! Wünsch ich/ möchte ich itzt/ ach mögt ich immerzu
> Bey meinen Freunden sein/ so wehr ich voller Ruh/
> Und außer aller Noth! (Schwarz I: 28).

Although the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries have been identified as the "Jahrhundert der Freundschaft" (century of friendship) (Sturzenegger 15), the concept of friendship was also one of the central motifs in seventeenth-century poetry. This tradition can be traced back to Aristotle's Ethics, in which he explores the nature of friendship and its usefulness in producing happiness and virtue (Pangle 14). Schwarz's conception of the court of friendship an ideal rural location is a parallel to the ideal of friendship expressed by Simon Dach and his circle in Königsberg (Schöne 9). Although the traditional texts

available to Schwarz would have described friendship as primarily between men, she was nonetheless able to imagine herself as part of such a group. The group described in the friendship poems consisted of both "Gespielen" and "Gespielinnen," male and female friends.

The court of friendship in Fretow is described by Schwarz using Classical *topoi* of the *locus amoenus*. Fretow was the German "Helikon," populated by the "Pierinnen," another term for the Muses, who were said to drink at the Pierian Spring for inspiration (Manser 294).

> Damit die Liebe magk an diesem Orte bleiben/
> Und hier Regirer sein: drüm wil ich einig schreiben
> Von dieses Ortes Lust; Hier sieht man umb den Strauch
> Ein Bildt der Liebe stehn/ bey ienem Brunnen auch/
> Hier trewe Freunde gehen/ dort dan die Götter sitzen/
> Die unser liebes Feldt für Feientschafft beschützen.
> Der klugen Schwestern Schwar stimbt hier so lieblich an/
> Daß auch ein sterblich Mensch nichts bessers hören kan (Schwarz I: 16).

Thus Schwarz, rather than creating a discursive space separate from male poetic tradition, creates a space in which she herself is the center of an ideal court of friendship, the purpose of which is to be inspired and compose poetry together. Although this idealized description is based on a real location, there is no evidence that a large group of individuals would meet together to sing and dance as described in the Fretow poems, which were influenced by Opitz's *Zlatna* and *Vielguet*. It is not significant whether the poems reflected true practice. It is how she chose to describe the space of creative production and how she defined her own place within it. The *Bescheidenheitstopoi* are absent here, when she describes herself as the "Hoffmaisterin." That she uses a female-

gendered noun further underscores that she felt that she had every right to be the leader of poetic circle.

In conclusion, this chapter explored the poetic aesthetic, self-conceptualization and self-representation of themselves as women and as poets evident in the work of Sibylle Schwarz and Susanne Elisabeth Zeidler. In it I demonstrated both what connects these two writers, and what separates them. Sibylle Schwarz expanded the definition of the term "poet" to include both men and women and ascribed to herself the privileges and responsibilities pertaining to that class. Although she shifted the conventional descriptions of the virtues required of a poet slightly to more fully validate her own inclusion as a woman, she did not create an entirely separate sphere within which to operate. Susanne Elisabeth Zeidler, on the other hand, created a separate sphere within which she, as a female poet could operate. Female poets were Nymphs who were inspired and led by Athena. Male poets, on the other hand, were the sons of the Muses led and inspired by Phoebus. She argued that Phoebus and Athena give wisdom, talent and understanding in equal measure, but that social convention supported male poets to a greater extent, providing them the means and time to hone the craft. While not overtly questioning the hierarchy, Zeidler nonetheless claimed that women, if they were given the same amount of time and opportunity, would produce work of equal value.

Both women used conventional *Bescheidenheitstopoi* in their work. Zeidler did this to a greater extent, because she wrote the preface to her work. While she used the conventional *topos* that her poems had been written for herself alone and that she was being forced to publish by her brother, the writerly power evidenced in her work belied this fact. Further, the statement that she prepared the collection of poems as a parting gift to her friends is given greater credence by the knowledge that she would be moving away upon her marriage, and thus less able to spend time with family and friends. In letters to

her mentor Gerlach and to her patron Sehbach Schwarz refers to her writing as "ungepfeffert" and "unreiffe Früchte." These phrases imply that she deemed her work immature. A secondary implication is that these can be improved either as she grows older or with the addition of seasoning in the form of more sophisticated rhetorical devices.

Finally, the differences noted above indicate that the nature of criticism faced by each woman varied slightly, and gives rise to the speculation that there was a shift in attitudes that took place in the fifty years that separated their work. If this is the case, it parallels a similar development in Italy, where women were first heralded as rare sources of national pride, but where later attempts were made to limit the number of women writing. Sibylle Schwarz did not perceive herself to be primarily criticized because of her gender, but rather because she wrote poetry. She posited the criticisms she faced as similar to those faced by male poets and was able to draw on male models as she crafted responses to her detractors. She did also defend herself specifically as a woman writing, and defend the notion that women could write, but it was simply one aspect of the defense she provided rather than the primary defense. Zeidler, on the other hand, faced detractors who, in the face of a large amount of evidence to the contrary, claimed that women could not actually write poetry and accused Zeidler of signing her name to poems written by another. She reacts to this accusation by discursively creating a "separate but equal" sphere for women's creative work. She does not attempt to break into the male discursive space, but creates a safe space apart from that.

CHAPTER 4: THE OTHER

Those friends thou hast, and their adoption tried,
Grapple them unto thy soul with hoops of steel
-William Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, Act I, Scene 3, Lines 548-49

The band that seems to tie their friendship together
will be the very strangler of their amity.
-William Shakespeare, *Antony and Cleopatra*, Act II, Scene 6, Lines 1354-56

In the Baroque period, individuals, whether male or female, primarily understood themselves in relation to their social context. They were embedded within a family, and their social role flowed from their own place within the family, the status of that family, and their wider circle of relatives, friends and acquaintances. While men could later define themselves in terms of their intellectual achievements and the friendships and other social networks opened to them in this process, women were entirely dependent on either the family of their birth or the one into which they married if they wished to gain an education or express themselves creatively in the medium of art, crafts, or literature.

For women wishing to write the attitudes of other family members determined if this could even be considered, and the family's wealth and status determined whether the necessary material basis was present. Without the support of parents, brothers, or husbands, a woman could not consider taking up the pen to write poetry. An example of this is Margaretha Susanna Kuntsch, a slightly older contemporary of Susanne Elisabeth Zeidler, who did not follow her passion for learning until after her marriage because her parents deemed it unbecoming for a young lady from the middle classes, concerned that it

might diminish her marriage prospects (Carrdus "Margaretha Susanna von Kuntsch" 150). Writing was considered a more appropriate activity for "hohe Damen" (Carrdus "Margaretha Susanna Kuntsch" 150). Her husband later supported her desire to write, and all of her poems were written during their marriage and after the death of her husband.

Both Sibylle Schwarz and Susanne Elisabeth Zeidler gained an education because their families supported them and recognized their gifts and talents. More specifically, both women were supported by an elder brother, and it is in relation to these brothers that I will begin an examination of the relationship between the authors and the Other, and how this was manifested in their poetry by exploring how their relationships with these brothers were represented and characterized in their poems.

THE TIES THAT BIND: THE ROLE OF FAMILY

Zeidler had a close friendship with her brother Johann Gottfried, who was only two years older than she. He inspired her to allow her poems to be published and paid for that publication as a wedding gift. He also provided two poems to the collection, a dedicatory poem to the collection and a laudatory poem to his sister, in which he symbolically crowns her with laurel. She in turn wrote four poems to him: "An ihren Bruder" (Zeidler 32), written in celebration of that he was crowned poet laureate in 1678; "Mitleidende Schrift an ihren Bruder" (Zeidler 34), written when he fell ill while living in Wittenberg in 1678; "Dem Suchenden 1681" (Zeidler 59), written in honor of his having been given membership in the Deutschgesinnte Genossenschaft; and "Auff ihres Bruders Joh. Gottfried Zeidlers/ und Fr. Annen Susannen Hübnerin/ gebohrnen Sikelius Hochzeit/ d. 10. Octobr. 1682" (Zeidler 71), written to celebrate her brother's marriage to one of her dearest friends, Anna Susanne Sikelius, who had lost her first husband and most of her family to the plague the previous year.

Johann Gottfried Zeidler contributed the longest dedicatory poem to the collection, as well as a poem in praise of his sister's gifts as a poet and her place within the pantheon of poets. This panegyric appeared at the center of the collection, and contains the only woodcut that adorns a page, other than the frontispiece. It is the image of a laurel branch, symbolic of the honor he, a poet laureate himself, chose to bestow upon his sister. The laurel branch was surrounded by the following Greek text: "ΔΕΝΔΡΟΝ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΣ ΘΥΓΑΤΗΡ ΠΗΝΗΙΑ ΔΑΦΝΗ" [59] (Zeidler 79). In the text, he contrasts that Daphne ran away from Apollo, but that she would willingly give her hair to the fair Nymph, Zeidler, who is the German Sappho (lines 7 – 16). He places her in the company of the Muses and states explicitly that the German language gains in stature because of her work:

Drum ô Poetin unser Zeiten/
Es müssen stets zu deiner Seiten
Die edlen Pierinnen gehn:
Dein Nahme soll geschrieben stehn
Da wo Homerus sich vergnüget/
Der allen Tichtern überlieget/
Wo Pindarus der Musen Sohn
Mit seiner Leyer giebt den Thon/
Und wo der Phönix teutscher Zungen
Harsdörffer sich empor geschwungen/
Der mit der Leyer sich ergetzt/
Damit den Göttern gleich gesetzt.

59 Tree of Apollo, Daphne, daughter of Peneus

Du müsstest bey den Aoninnen

Der Teutschen Sprache Lob gewinnen.

Es müsse deiner Liederschein

Poeten gleich und ähnlich seyn. (Zeidler 80)

The brother praises his sister and her poetry highly in this poem, placing her in the company of the Muses as well as Homer and Harsdörffer. In the final line, he writes that the brilliance of her songs is "equal and similar" to that of male poets. The noun "Poeten" stands in opposition to "Poetin" in the first line and thus clearly refers to the masculine form of the noun. Therefore, much as Zeidler herself does, he also differentiates based on gender between the work of his sister and that of male poets. While this is not unexpected, especially given the ease of gendering nouns in the German language, it is nonetheless a remarkable contrast to the way in which Schwarz characterizes herself. Schwarz consistently uses the term "Poet," the male form of the word, to describe herself, places herself in the tradition of poets without marking gender, and uses a male voice as the lyric "Ich" or narrator in several of her works. Zeidler clearly marks for gender and thereby establishes a uniquely female creative space within which to write. This puts her in a "separate but equal" relationship to the male poetic tradition, but simultaneously also foregrounds and emphasizes her very femaleness. This in turn gives value to the female voice and the uniquely female experience, much as the nuns of previous generations found freedom in their exclusion from the world and in the uniquely female space they occupied, separate and protected from a world dominated by male desires and commands.

As noted above, Zeidler wrote four poems to her brother. The first two are both dated 1678, when she is only twenty-one and he is twenty-three, and the second two are dated 1681 and 1682. She addresses him as "Bruder" (Zeidler 32), "Geliebter Hertzens Freund" (34), and "Lieber Bruder" (59, 72) and greets him "mit Hertz und Mund" (33).

The first poem, written to honor her brother after he was crowned poet laureate was written in *Romanzenvers*. It has a playful tone and Zeidler asks permission to add her voice to that of others who are congratulating him, even though she herself is not a poet. As she writes,

> Ist es nicht recht eingericht/
> Halte mirs vor übel nicht.
> Dencke das zu Verse machen/
> Und dergleichen solchen Sachen
> Ich nicht worden angewehnt/
> Zur Poetin nicht gekrönt.
> (Zeidler 32)

Zeidler takes the opportunity of her brother being honored to mention again that she herself was not properly trained in the art of poetry, and therefore is not a "Poetin." She immediately subverts this self-effacement by commencing with a poem in praise of her brother.

The Schwarz collection includes several mentions of her brother, a letter written to him, and one of the most daring pieces in the collection, her dramatization of the biblical tale of "Susanna" in verse. He appears as her supporter, and provides both reading material and inspiration for her work:

> bin noch güngsten auß Jacobus Catzen Niederländischen sachen (dessen gantzes opus meinem Bruder zugeschickt) etwas zu verteutschen schlüßigk worden/ allein darumb/ weil solches allen Feinder der edlen Leyer zuwiedern geschrieben wahr/ und mich der unwerständige Neidt leider der massen auch betrübet/ das ich schier meiner Poesey guhte Nacht gegeben/ wen demselben nicht durch etliche Verständige Leute vohrgebwet wehre; (Schwarz I: 3).

Her brother thus provided not only an intellectual exercise and introduced her to the work of an influential Dutch poet, but also in so doing gave her the model of a poem written against the enemies of poetry, the "Feinden der edlen Leyer." This statement appears in Schwarz's letter to Gerlach dated July 24, 1637. It also provides evidence that Schwarz had a number of friends and supporters who gave her the encouragement necessary to keep writing in the face of detractors and perhaps her own desire to give up. In the letter preceding Susanna, which she dedicated to her brother, Schwarz thanks him for the support he provided to her.

> Meine Leyer/ Geehrter Herr Bruder/ hat den halben Teil ihrer Wolfahrt/ dir zu dancken/ dieweil sie/ durch des Neides dicken Dunst überzogen/ mitten in solcher Finsternis/ vohn dem klahren Liecht deiner Liebe/ zur Poeterey/ oder vielmehr zuhr Tugend ist erleuchtet/ und biß dahero erhalten worden. (Schwarz II: M3r)

She chooses to dedicate the story of Susanna to him as a sign of her thankfulness to him, but also because the sins described in the story suit those suffered in Greifswald at the time.

> Da mir aber nichts mehr= oder bessers gefallen/ als die Histori vohn der Susannen in Reimen zubringen/ aldieweil keine dergleichen Historien sich so wohl auff die hiesiger Oerter betrübene Laster schicken wollen. (Schwarz II: M3r).

This poem was likely written in 1637 or early 1638, at a time when the city of Greifswald was still overrun by troops and suffering the degradation of war. Prince Bogislav XIV, the final Pomeranian Duke, had passed away, and the fortunes for Greifswald were uncertain. The story of Susanna deals with corrupt authority, those who should be the defenders of justice subverting it to their own lustful desires. Susanna is finally saved by the intervention of Daniel, who is able to prove that the two corrupt judges who had accused her of lascivious behavior, thereby dooming her to death, were actually lying.

Schwarz feels that it is a timely criticism of corruption, but also indicates that it is her duty to tell the truth, that being the duty of a poet.

> Dan wo find man in diser Stadt trewe und ohn=falsche Herzen? Wiewohl eß mich nicht wohl anstehet/ daß ich mein eigen Vaterland/ das doch noch etliche keusche Gemühter/ göttliche Helden/ heroische Geister/ und Tugend= und Gerechtigkeit=liebende Hertzen/ wiewohl ihrer sehr wenig/ träget/ wegen solcher Laster/ die mehr zur Verkleinerung/ als Erhöhung dienen/ verachten sol. Wan ich aber auch der Wahrheit schonen wollte/ so würd eß nicht allein der guhten Stadt/ sondern auch mir und meiner Leyer verkleinerlich seyn (Schwarz II: M3r-v).

Finally, she indicates that her other reason for writing is out of an inner desire and the joy of poetry itself.

> so ist auch gegenwertiges Werck nicht etwan/ üm eine Hand voll Gunst oder Ehre dadurch zuerjagen/ angefangen/ sondern auß Liebe zuhr Geschicht/ auß Reitzung zur Poeterey/ und Lust zuhr Ubung in derselben/ und im übrigen meine Schwesterliche Liebe und Pflicht damit an den Tag zu geben (Schwarz II: M3v).

"Susanna" is a play written in verse. In it, Schwarz uses a variety of meters, including alexandrines, vers commun, and Romanzenvers. This is also the only text in which she uses the dactylus. Although it is clear that she is less comfortable with this than the iamb or trochee, she nonetheless practices its use in an attempt to increase the tempo of the line, and thereby heighten the pathos experienced by Susanna when confronted by the two judges who, having come upon her while she is bathing, demand that she either give in to their desires or be accused of having done so.

> Mein Gott/ O lass mich nuhr/ lass mich erbleichen!
> wohr kömpt der eilige Unfall den her?
> Ist mier dan besser der Buben Begehr/

oder der edelen Keuschheit zu weichen?

halt ich/ die Keuschheit zu lassen sey Noht /

so kann die Falschheit mich leichtlich verderben;

lieb ich die Keuschheit/ so lieb ich den Tod;

wohl/ wohl/ wier müssen einst alle doch sterben! (Schwarz II: N1v)

Schwarz's heroine chooses to face death rather than give up her chastity. In doing so she embodies the neo-Stoic ideal of *Constantia*, constancy, in the face of imminent death. She remains true to her faith, true to her husband, and true to her own sense of what is right. In the following text, even her husband, who speaks of his great love for her, does not believe her when confronted with the accusations made by two leading men in the community, the judges Eurimedes and Heracleon. He mourns at her loss, but does nothing to help her.

Jojackim

Muß dieser Augenschein/

muß dieser rohte Mund dann itzt dein Tod noch seyn/

der sonst dein Leben war! O Schönste/ meine Wonne/

wenn du mier untergehst/ so hab ich keine Sonne/

und lebe ohne Licht!

Susanna.

Nein/ als eß Gott gefält

ich bin dein Sonnenschein/ doch nicht der gantzen Welt;

Ich sehe sie itzt schon/ sie kommen selbst gegangen/

die Räuber meiner Ehr/ die mit der Lügen prangen/

als wär eß lauter Gold/ odch wart ich ihrer hier/

sie nehmen nuhr den Leib/ die Seele bleibet mihr. (Schwarz II: N2v)

Susanna reminds her husband that God is the most important element, and that her faith in God will preserve her even in the face of her enemies because, while they can destroy her body, her soul is her own. She also encourages him to keep going after her death by saying that, while she is his sun, she is not the whole world.

In this way, Schwarz uses this text to express the worldview that faith in God in the highest good and that it is necessary to maintain virtue and to be constant and true in the face of difficulty. She draws on biblical inspiration for a heroine who embodies these virtues. Although Daniel is ultimately the hero who comes and saves Susanna at the last moment, this is primarily a text of a woman standing against injustice. The strength of character demonstrated is even stronger, because it is held by a weak member of society. This text and the related letter to her brother, also indicate the centrality of his support for Schwarz's ability to write. Although she did have others who also supported her work, it is to him that she writes that she owes half of her ability to write, "meine Leyer/ Geehrter Herr Bruder/ hat den halben Teil ihre Wolfahrt/ dir zu dancken" (Schwarz II: M3r). For Schwarz and for Zeidler, however, the role of friendship was also central to their work.

THE TIES THAT BIND: THE ROLE OF FRIENDSHIP

Integration into a social context has often been expressed using the imagery of tying or binding. As the two quotes by Shakespeare at the beginning of this chapter demonstrate, this imagery was also in use in the early modern period. As noted above, the subject of this chapter is the self in relation to the other, the self as a member of a social group. In particular, it is an examination of the ways in which the female poet represents herself in relation to the other in the medium of early modern poetry. As such, it will be analyzing the occasional poetry to friends, family and acquaintances produced by Schwarz and Zeidler and the ways in which they adhere to convention established by

male writers and the ways in which they shift the convention in such a way to open a creative space for the specifically female voice. As noted in Chapter Two, occasional poetry served a social function. Acknowledging significant life events by contributing poetic works allowed the poet to strengthen his or her social connection to the addressee of the poem. Julius Moravcsik notes in his discussion of ethics and human companionship that "[h]armoniously unified agents can give each other more and different kinds of support than mere binding by contract" (Moravcsik 120). As such, in the seventeenth century, occasional poems served to "harmoniously unify" social connections.

Female writers in the seventeenth century could seek this harmonious unity for a number of different reasons. In the writing of Schwarz and Zeidler, occasional poems primarily serve to cement the bonds of friendship. Both also use them (Schwarz to a greater degree than Zeidler) to serve the needs of their families and to represent their families in the public sphere. Schwarz's occasional poems were addressed to a number of prominent Greifswald citizens. While they could enhance her personal interaction with the addressee, they would also have been more appropriately symbolic of the relationship between families. Thus, her writing served a representative function for the Schwarz family in relation to other prominent local families. Zeidler, likewise, wrote occasional poems to family members, such as her brother and her grandmother, and to personal friends. But she also included poems to a wider circle, including a panegyric to Frederick William the Great Elector of Brandenburg upon his visit to Magdeburg on June 4, 1681.

Moravcsik notes the integration of self within a community, and the role that personal friendship plays within that relationship. "Personal friendship … involves the following three conditions. 1) Joint pursuit of highest character type. 2) Care, concern with each other's welfare. 3) Personal contact and interaction" (Moravcsik 120). Poems

related to the nature of friendship by Schwarz and Zeidler indicate that the first condition named by Moravcsik also applied to the seventeenth century, at least in written expression. Both Schwarz and Zeidler note that their friends, whom they laud for their virtue, likewise inspire them to behave virtuously. Zeidler draws on this image in her dedicatory poem to Hedwig Barbara von Mörnen, the wife of the nobleman in whose region her future husband would be serving as pastor. She writes, "[v]ortrefflichs Tugenbild/ was mich hat angetrieben/ daß ich noch unbekant Ihr dieses zu geschrieben/ ist Ihrer Tugend=Ruhm" (Zeidler 9). To Anna and Maria Sikelius she writes, "[i]ndessen wünsche ich den keuschen Tugend=Seelen/ die ich mir stetig zu Freundinnen wil erwehlen/ des höchsten Gottes Schutz" (Zeidler 41). And in a poem to Maria Sikelius, she notes the mutuality of the relationship by writing, "[u]nd die Freundschafft/ welche ziert // dein auffrichtiges Gemüthe/ die du iederzeit gepflogen // und erwiesen gegen mich/ hat mich wiederum bewogen/ danckbarlich zu lieben dich" (Zeidler 92). Schwarz expresses explicitly in her poem "Vohn wahrer Freundschafft" (Schwarz II: O1r) that a true friend can help another friend attain the highest, best path of life, that of faith and the path to final reward in the hereafter. "Ein Freund/ ein trewer Freund kann uns die Seele speisen/ kan uns in Freundligkeit der Tugend Bahne weisen: kan durch ein nützlich Wort uns bringen auff die Bahn/ und auff den schmalen Weg den hohen Himmel an." (Schwarz II: O1r). The final part of this statement is a reference to Matthew 7:13-14, "Enter through the narrow gate. For wide is the gate and broad is the road that leads to destruction, and many enter through it. But small is the gate and narrow the road that leads to life, and only a few find it." Thus, a true friend can help find the "narrow road" that leads to eternal life, and help guide away from the "broad road" that leads to destruction. This is a clear reference to the role of true friendship in promoting virtue and proper living. Although it is a conventional sentiment concerning the role of friendship,

one that frequently appears in the writings of male poets, it has a particularly poignant role in the lives of women, whose interactions with the wider world could be circumscribed, and who relied on interactions with their friends to a great extent. It was, as noted above, out of a desire to avoid loneliness caused by a lack of interaction with her friends, who lived several miles away, that inspired Susanne Elisabeth Zeidler to write poetry (Zeidler 10).

The significance of friendship in the lives of women is obvious in the number of poems Schwarz and Zeidler dedicated to the idea of friendship and to their friends. As Cornelia Niekus Moore noted, "friendship [between women] could give rise to poetic expression in the seventeenth century" (Niekus Moore 243). This is certainly the case in the work of Schwarz and Zeidler, who both contributed occasional poems to friends and also reflected on the nature of friendship itself.

POEMS BINDING SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS: BINDELBRIEFE

Schwarz both explicitly and implicitly acknowledges the necessity for friendship as a source of human comfort, and the role occasional poetry could play in maintaining those relationships. Many of the occasional poems written to friends for birthdays or name days are called "Anbindbriefe" or "Bindelbriefe" in her work, thus foregrounding their role in cementing social relationships. The imagery in the poems themselves also make this role explicit and use the image of binding or of the materials used for creating the knot that ties the two people together to demonstrate that the poem itself is creating a bond between the two people. Many of the *Anbindbriefe* and other occasional poems also foreground the notion of time, and use imagery associated with the sun and moon and the passing of time during the day to emphasize the necessity that these poems be written in haste. This makes explicit their role as occasional poems in the truest sense, those meant

to mark a specific occasion in a certain time and place, poems which will lose their significance as time passes. Schwarz specifically depicts either the sun rising or the moon setting, and expresses the wish that the light of the sun will fall on those who should be honored, or that the moon delay its arrival in order to provide more time to honor them.

Es mache sich hinweg die Mutter der Gestirne
mit ihrer Cintia/ der schnellen Jäger Dirne/
denn izund kömpt die Zeit/ die nicht mit bleichem Schein/
und Dunkelheit der Nacht/ nur will gezieret seyn.
Aurora kom herfür/ eß müße heiter werden/
und klahres Wetter sein! du grosses Licht der Erden/
O Sonne brich herdurch/ vertreib der Wolcken Dunst/
erzeige disem Tag ein Zeichen deiner Gunst! (Schwarz II: E3v)

Both "Cintia" and "Jäger Dirne" refer to Diana, and are symbolic of the moon, the "Mutter der Gestirne." The lyric "Ich" calls upon the moon to make way for the sun. She calls upon the sun in turn to break through and demonstrate that it is showing its pleasure in this day, which should be honored. This is taken from an "Anbind=Brieff" written in honor of a unnamed female friend on her name day that consists of 100 alexandrine lines. In it, Schwarz contemplates the nature of the material to be used in binding her friend to her, seeking in the leaves of the laurel "einen Band/ den nicht zerreist die Zeit" (Schwarz II E4r). She likewise gives voice to the possible criticisms against writing such a poem:

Nun dürffte Momus wohl von disem binden sagen/
eß sey ein Kinderspiel/ und könn ihm nicht behagen/
eß sey nuhr Gaukel=werk/ eß sey ein blossen Tant/
eß sey ein unnüz Ding/ der Weißheit unbekant/
eß sey der Ehrbarkeit zu wieder und der Tugend/

gebühre nur allein der ungezähmten Jugend
und sey zur Wollust erst in guter Zeit erdacht/
iezt aber durch den Krieg fast gänzlich abgebracht. (Schwarz II: E4v)

This criticism does not include a reference to that she, a woman, is writing the poem, but rather that it is evidence of untamed youth, "ungezähmte Jugend," and that it is further a practice that has gone out of use because of the war. This is then followed by another section in which the lyric "Ich" ruminates on the best type of material to use, that would be worthy of her friend. This then leads to a further discussion of the ways in which the world has been ruined by the ravages of the Thirty Years War.

Wo sucht man einen Band? in disem großen ganzen
Ist nicht alß kläglich tuhn/ alß kuglen/ stükken Schanzen/
alß blutiger begin/ alß Lanzen Spieß und Schwerdt/
alß Dieb= und Mörderey/ alß leerer Tisch und Herdt.
Der Mensch muß viel beschwer/ viel Widerwillen leiden/
eh seine Seele kann des Leibes Kerker meiden;
der sieht sein Vaterland ganz öd und wüste stehn/
und jener siht sein Hauß von fern im Feur aufgehn.
Der ein muß jämmerlich in Thetis Schoß ertrincken/
der ander auff der See deß Unglüks untersünken;
dem dritten hat der Neidt des Herzens grund gerürt/
dem vierdten ist sein Freund/ und was er liebt/ entführt.
Der fünfft ist üm sein Guht/ und all das seine kommen/
dem sechsten hat der Todt den andern Er genommen/
den siebden hat er noch auff seiner Reckebank/
dem achten wird die Zeit bey seinen Gästen lang.

Der Neundte fühlt Gefahr und Schaden an der Seelen/
der zehnde muß sich stets mit schwerer Arbeit quälen.
Den Jungen plagt der Hust/ der Alte fühlt die Gicht/
und klagt wie sehr eß ihn in seiner Seiten sticht.
Der eylffte komt und klagt/ wie sehr er ist geschlagen/
den zwölfften will man ganz auß seiner Hütten jagen.
In Summa alles das/ was Unheil heissen kann/
trifft unser armest Land/ und greifft uns sämbtlich an. (Schwarz II: F1r)

This extended section about the depravations of war and the ravages it causes, as well as a long list of serious and less-than-serious suffering in the world, indicates how difficult it is to classify poetry in the early modern period in categories such as "sacred," "secular," "occasional" or "personal." This poem is by definition an occasional poem, because it is written for a specific occasion, the celebration of the name day of a friend. However, within it, Schwarz, in an effort to rhetorically emphasize the significance of the day and of the act of writing a poem, reflects upon the nature of the war and the devastation it has caused leaving the poet, the lyric "Ich," without a suitably precious material with which to honor her friend. The poem concludes with the most precious means to honor and bind her friend:

Eß reissen leichtlich ja der Seiden Dünne Neze/
der Perlen theure Wahr/ der Erden gelbe Schäze/
die Freundschafft aber ist ein fester Binde=band/
Sie bindet auch das Herz/ und nicht allein die Hand. (Schwarz II:F1r)

After deciding not to use silk, pearls and gold, which will all pass away in time and can only be used to bind hands together physically, the poet chooses the most costly material

of all: friendship itself, both the impetus behind the choice to write, and the means of securing the friendship further.

In some of the poems, Schwarz uses the imagery of time passing too quickly, which does not allow her to complete a poem of quality as excellent as that required by the virtue of the recipient. This conventional rhetorical *humilitas* trope allows her to emphasize the importance of the recipient, while also foregrounding the act of writing itself, and the need for poetic inspiration.

Iezt aber da die Stunde
der Zeit fast sizt im Munde /
da bin ich ohne Wiz/
(Schwarz II: H2v)

Alluding to the passing of time and the lack of time available for writing was not uncommon and Zeidler also made use of this image. In one poem written to "einen bekanten Freund" (Zeidler 73), she uses both the imagery of day, "Sonnenschein" and evoked the fleeting nature of time available to write and send a letter to her friend by referring to a tiny bird that had flown in the garden, and which she desired to use as her messenger. But it flew away, making it impossible to send her letter. This clever conceit removes any fault from the poet for not sending a letter soon enough.

Was kan ich nu dafür das mirs nicht angegangen/
Wie ichs bey mir bedacht? Die Schuld ist itzt nicht mein/
Werd' ich den fliegenden Postreuter wieder fangen/
So soll er alsobald in seinen Diensten seyn
…
Indessen leb er wohl/ ich aber muß beschliessen/
Dieweil mir Feder/ Zeit/ und anders mehr gebricht. (Zeidler 74)

Like Zeidler, Schwarz wrote "Bindelbrieffe" to both male and female recipients. In a poem written to a male recipient, "Bindelbrieff Auff Herrn Friderich Bencken Nahmens Tag," Schwarz writes that it is friendship itself that binds them together, and notes that Fretow strengthens the band.

Zwahr Hände sind genug/ ihn damit anzubinden /
doch dienen sie nur nicht; ich kan noch nichtes finden/
das seiner würdig ist/ und seiner zahrten Hand/
doch laß ich alles stehn/ die Freundschaff ist mein Band.
Mein Fretow gibt mir den/ ist selbst auch mit daneben
bey mir ein starcker Band, Weil Gott mihr gönt das Leben
so bin ich auch bestrickt durch dises Ortes Zier; (Schwarz II: J4r)

In a sonnet to a female friend, "Sonnet auff Jungfrawen M.U.L. Nahmens Tag" (Schwarz II: J2v), she remarks that a strong bond of friendship between women cannot be dissolved by a man. This remark is particularly poignant, given that a woman who married would leave the home of her family and move with her husband, leaving close friends behind. Thus, a man could and would, in a very real sense, disrupt the friendship between women.

OB wihr/ O Freundin/ zwar vohn Kindheit einverleibet
der trewen Freundschaft Band/ auch so daß uns kein Man
er sey so stark er wil/ davohn erlösen kann/ (Schwarz II: J2v)

She imagines the bond friendship as stronger than a man, no matter how strong he may be. At the point when Schwarz was writing these words, she and her friends were in their teens, and thus at an age when parents and young women began to think very seriously about the possibility of marriage. Schwarz herself included a lengthy discussion of the merits of love in its many varieties, including physical, sensual, love in the sonnet cycle

at the end of her poetry collection. In these works, the lyric "Ich" advises fleeing from physical love and the arrows of Amor. But in two name-day poems dedicated to a man, her stance is far more circumspect. In the case of this particular recipient, it is possible that a marriage between the two was in consideration, but the evidence is embedded entirely within her poems and one written by Samuel Gerlach.

In this poem, Schwarz again uses the topos of seeking an appropriately valuable item with which to secure the friendship. The virtue most frequently praised by Schwarz, and prized as a virtue related to true friendship, is humility, *Demuht*. This is also the valuable material she chooses to use in order to bind "P.V.," most likely Peter Vanselau, to her.

> Heut muß man/ wehrter freund/ auch euch gahr feste binden/
> und wolte/ wolte Gott/ daß ich nuhr könte finden
> den Band/ den Ihr verdient/ doch laß ich Hoffart stehn/
> der voller Laster ist/ und will auf Demuht sehn (Schwarz II: J4v)

She continues that friendship is bound by the heart, not worldly goods like gold and pearls, and that true humility will remain, even when all earthly things have passed away. This is reminiscent of imagery Schwarz uses in most of her name-day and birthday poems, which are frequently referred to as "Bindebrieffe" in her work.

She follows this section with imagery related to binding. The second poem to "P.V." concludes as follows: "Ein Band geknüpfft in Scherze // zwar bindet/ doch das Herze // muß selbst der Binder sein: Also mein Herz auch bindet // den/ der geschrieben findet/ hier seinen Nahmen stehn. P.V." (Schwarz II: H3r). The use of the personal pronouns "euch" and "euer" in the first of the two Bindelbriefe also indicates that it was written to a male recipient.

> Denn man findt heut angeschrieben

euers schönen Nahmens Fest/
das ich billich sollte lieben
und euch binden auf das best'/
Gold und Perlen solt ich bringen /
und iezt eure Hand umringen (Schwarz II: H3r).

She continues that she is unable to locate suitable items worthy of binding his hands. This leads to the final conceit that because she is unable to find the gold and pearls, she sends this "Bindelbrief," the poem itself, with which she wishes to to bind him to her. She hopes that the poem will be dearer to him than pearls, indicating a desire that he value her words and her friendship:

Nempt derhalben/ was euch bringet
dises schlechte Briefelein /
das euch/ wo mein Wundsch gelinget /
lieber wird als Perlen seyn /
weil ich nicht auff Hoffart schaue /
sondern nur der Demuht traue (Schwarz II: H3r).

It is difficult to ascertain the precise nature of the relationship between Sibylle Schwarz and Peter Vanselau. It is not possible to be absolutely certain that the "P.V." to whom these two Anbindbriefe are dedicated is the same Peter Vanselau to whom Gerlach refers in a dedicatory poem to the series of love sonnets written by Schwarz and included at the very end of the second volume of her poems, although the circumstantial evidence does seem to lead in that direction. It is clear that the poems written to "P.V." are both written to a man, based on the language employed in the poems, and that, unlike other poems to men, they are intended for someone for whom Schwarz might have had romantic feelings. It is also clear that, when the two poems were written, when Schwarz was

approximately sixteen years of age, it is plausible that she would have been thinking about the possibility of marrying. The introduction to Schwarz's sonnet cycle, a group of Petrarchan love sonnets, provides another curious piece of evidence. Gerlach included Schwarz's sonnet cycle at the very end of her collection of poetry, following the "Ende des andern Teils," which occurred on page O2r, the final one of the fragmentary poems. The sonnet cycle is thus set apart, almost as though it does not belong to the rest of the text. It is introduced by a "Klinggedicht" written by Gerlach to his friend Peter Vanselau, "Seinen alten/ sunders vertrauten/ und liebwehrtesten Brüderlichen Freund" (Schwarz II: O2v). In lines twelve and thirteen he explains the reason for dedicating the sonnet cycle to Vanselau as follows: "(daß ichs aber ihm zuschikk/ ist die Uhrsach' uns alleine// und sunst niemand nicht/ bewust/ wihr nuhr wissens/ was ich meyne)" (Schwarz II: O2v). This cryptic message has led to numerous speculations. Erika Greber has argued that perhaps Gerlach and Vanselau had a homosexual relationship, which led him to dedicate Schwarz's love poetry to Vanselau (Greber 155). She likewise felt that the sonnets themselves, in which Schwarz uses a male voice to speak to a female beloved, are evidence of a potential lesbian relationship between Sibylle Schwarz and Judith Tanck, feelings which Schwarz was able to express without creating an outcry by using a male voice to speak to her beloved (Greber 142). There is no other indication that this could be the case and, although the words written from Gerlach to Vanselau seem far more intimate than one would expect between two friends in the modern era, the intensity was not uncommon in this period. Gerlach describes their friendship as being as close as two brothers, and as close as that between David and Jonathan, a conventional reference to a biblical friendship. That the sonnet cycle, which consists of a series of sixteen love poems, is dedicated to Peter Vanselau for reasons known only to him and Samuel Gerlach, combined with the two mysterious "Bindelbriefe" written by Schwarz to "P.V."

lead to the speculation that there may have been the chance of a marriage between the two. Because Schwarz died aged seventeen, and there is no further mention of Vanselau in the text or the historic record, it is difficult to prove or disprove the case. It would not be outside the realm of possibility for that to have been the case. A young woman of fifteen or sixteen would certainly be looking ahead to the possibility of marriage, one of the most significant occasions in a woman's life in this period.

FRIENDSHIP IN THE POEMS OF SUSANNE ELISABETH ZEIDLER

Anna Susanne and Maria Elisabeth Sikelius

Susanne Elisabeth Zeidler shared an appreciation and love of poetry with Anna Susanne and Maria Elisabeth Sikelius. It was in her friendship with these two sisters that her poetic talents were nurtured, and it is in poems dedicated to them that her writing reached its pinnacle. They were the daughters of a pastor in a neighboring town. Maria Elisabeth Sikelius died in 1681, but her sister Anna Susanne married Zeidler's brother Johann Gottfried in 1682, thus joining her family and allowing them to spend more time together. This proximity between the two friends ended in 1686 when Zeidler herself married and moved away with her husband.

Eight of the thirty-five poems in the collection are dedicated by name to one or both of the Sikelius sisters: "Auff die Jungfr. Sikeliusnen in Beesenstedt" (41), "Auff Herrn Gottfried Hübners/ und Junger Annen Susannen Sikelius hochzeitliches Ehrenfest," "Valet Gedicht/ in welchen Lisilis von Amaryllis Abschied nahm" (66), "Auff ihres Bruders Joh. Gottfried Zeidlers/ und Fr. Annen Susannen Hübnerin/ gebohrnen Sikelius Hochzeit/ d. 10. Octobr. 1682" (71), "An die Frau Braut" (73), "Nahmens=Gedicht an Frau Annen Susannen Hübnerin" (81), "An Jungfr. Marien Elisabeth Sikelius" (92), and the "Trauergedicht über den sel. Abschied Iungfr. Marien

Elisabeth Sikelius d. Julii 1681" (94). The final poem is the most extensive and learned poem included in the collection, while in several others Zeidler demonstrates her versatility by including not only iambic and trochaic lines, but also making skillful use of the dactyl to create a line reminiscent of a dancing rhythm. Much as Sibylle Schwarz dedicated far more poems to Judith Tanck than to any other individual, the Sikelius sisters are the recipients jointly of more poems than any other individual or group of people, and therefore in a significant relationship to the poet.

This relationship is present in the collection not only in the poems, but also in the frontispiece. It depicts a domestic interior and two young women who have come to study at the feet of Athena, who is depicted with helmet, shield and lyre in the foreground of the left side of the image. She is seated upon a desk or table, facing the two girls and appears to be teaching them. At her feet sits a shield and a small owl, symbolizing wisdom. In the bottom right corner stands a writing lectern, next to which lies a distaff, symbolizing domestic female employment. The two girls stand with their backs to a door, which opens to a view of a landscape consisting of a hill with a city at the top. A single church spire is clearly visible in the center of the image. To the right, next to the two girls, there is a spinning wheel, another allusion to women's household duties. On the left side are two books and a pot of ink and quill, which symbolize learning and the act of writing. To the left of the door, hanging half-way up the wall, are what appear to be a set of keys. The woodcut itself is dated 1684, the year the collection was initially meant to be published. It is unsigned and the artist is unknown. This frontispiece embodies the female space alluded to so often by Zeidler. There are no men present, and the poets are depicted inside rather than in the open air. It is possible that this image is meant to depict or at least allude to Susanne Elisabeth Zeidler and Anna Susanne Zeidler née Sikelius, who had at this point been married to Johann Gottfried for two years.

FRIENDSHIP IN THE POEMS OF SIBYLLE SCHWARZ

Schwarz wrote several poems relating to the nature of ideal friendship, and the idealized *locus amoenu*s where that friendship could be enjoyed. These include "Fretowische Fröligkeit" (Schwarz I: 13), "Wieder die Feinde ihrer Fretowischen Fröhligkeit" (Schwarz I: 26), "Trawer=Spiel/ Wegen einäscherung ihres Freudenorts Fretow" (Schwarz I: 105), "Wahre Freundschafft ist beständig" (Schwarz II: E1r), "Ein Freund ist das bäste/ das man liebet" (Schwarz II: H3v), "Ich will den trewen Freund zu lieben nicht vergessen" (Schwarz II: L1v), "Wer ein treuer Freund" (Schwarz II: M1r), "Die trewe Freundschafft" (Schwarz II: N4r), and "Vohn wahrer Freundschafft" (Schwarz II: O1r). Taken in conjunction with the even larger collection of occasional poems to friends on birthdays and name days, which also took friendship and meditations on the nature of friendship as their topic, her prolific output concerning friendship confirms Ziefle's assessment that she not only participated in what was a common topic in the Baroque, but that it was also personally meaningful to her (Ziefle 134).. In these poems, Schwarz deals with the tension that "human happiness …[is] typically … constrained by duty and obligation" (Moravcsik 6). The poems reveal Schwarz struggling discursively against the conventions within which she is trying to write.

Judith Tanck

Humility as a motif is also frequently mentioned in the poems dedicated to Judith Tanck. Tanck (1622 – 1650) was the daughter of a pastor in Stralsund, who moved to Greifswald upon the death of her father in 1633 (Schwarz 12*). Schwarz wrote a larger number of poems to Judith Tanck than to any other individual. The majority of the Judith Tanck poems are occasional poems, written to celebrate Tanck's birthday, her name day, and to lament when Tanck left Greifswald, as in the "Magddichte über den Abschied

meiner liebsten Freundinnen J.T. auß Greiffswaldt" (Schwarz II: D1v), discussed in the previous chapter.

While Schwarz wrote poems celebrating events in Judith's life, the poems reveal a difficult interpersonal relationship between the two girls. The Judith Tanck poems include, "Auff Jungfrauwen Judith Tancken/ meiner Hliebsten Freundin Gebuhrts=Tag" (Schwarz I: 20), "Auff Jungfer J.T. Namenstagk" (Schwarz I: 33), "Auff den Nahmenstag Jungfräuen Judith Tancken" (Schwarz I: 64), but also "Als ihre liebste Freundin einen Widerwillen auf sie gefasset" (Schwarz I: 72).

Reading between the lines of the texts, it seems that the friendship with Judith Tanck was somewhat one-sided. The first two poems named above express a deep regard for Judith, whose virtues Schwarz praises. She refers to Tanck as "mein ander Ich," the second part of herself. This expression was also used by Martin Opitz in the funeral poem written upon the death of his publisher and friend, David Müller, in which he writes, "[v]nd bist du auch verblichen/ Mein mehr denn halbes Ich?" (Müller 136).

However, while Schwarz directed poems to Tanck, it seems, based on what she writes to Tanck, that she was mocked for doing so, and pushed away by Tanck. The difficulties in their relationship play out in several poems. In "Auff den Nahmenstag Jungfrauen Judith Tancken" (Schwarz I: 64), Schwarz refers to Tanck's "stoltzen Sinne" and "Hoffart," and she criticizes her for leaving the path of "Demuht":

> Ich muß mit Verwundrung schawen/
> Wo du deinen guhten Sinn
> Weist von aller Demuht hin/
> Wilt der Hoffart gantz vertrawen/ (Schwarz I: 66)

It is at this point in the text that Schwarz inserts what can only be assumed to be autobiographical details, as she describes the way in which Tanck has avoided her:

“Kaum ein Gruß wird mir gegeben/ Wenn ich tausend mahl und mehr/ Dich auch grüste noch so sehr;” (Schwarz I: 66). When Tanck appears to have expressed her anger, possibly in reaction to being thus criticized, Schwarz reacted with abject sadness in, “Als ihre liebste Freundin einen Widerwillen auff sie gefasset” (Schwarz I: 72), which draws on Petrarchan motifs most often associated with the suffering lover, whose love is unrequited.

Was frag ich itzt darnach/ daß mich Apollo liebet
Mit seiner Schwestern Schar/ wann die mich doch betrübet
Ohn deren Gunst ich nicht kan leben auf der Welt/
Ohn deren Gunst mir auch kein Tuhn sonst wohlgefelt? (Schwarz I: 72-73)

Schwarz even threatens Tanck with that no other will love her as truly as Schwarz.

du findest keine mehr/
Die dich so hertzlich liebt/ drüm hasse nicht so sehr
Was dich nicht hassen kan; du wirst zwar Diener haben/
Doch keine so getrew/ als die du will vergraben
Durch Ungunst/ Haß und Neid/

The Petrarchan imagery in these poems, coupled with the description of unrequited feelings have led some scholars to wonder if there was perhaps greater feeling on the part of Schwarz than mere friendship. However, friendship between teenage girls can be marked by extreme emotion. Friendships can quickly dissolve and then be restored. The sentiments expressed by Schwarz in poems to Peter Vanselau seem to argue against the assumption of a homoerotic relationship between Schwarz and Tanck, but the question is difficult to answer definitively.

Susanne Kord writes that we do women’s poetry a disservice if we look to it only in order to find evidence of women’s socioeconomic or sociocultural roles, or evidence of

autobiographical experience (Kord *Sich Einen Namen Machen* 51). It is perhaps best to view the poems in their discursive context, and as evidence of Schwarz adapting the conventions available to her to the specificity of the friendship with Tanck. This friendship was marked by extreme emotion, and Schwarz therefore sought appropriate rhetorical devices and *topoi* to express these emotions. Those *topoi* were in turn found in the field of Petrarchan love poetry.

Schwarz's relationship with Judith Tanck is revealed to be somewhat ambiguous and difficult. Tanck appears not to have supported Schwarz in her writing, and not to have understood why Schwarz spent time doing it. Schwarz accuses Tanck of publicly snubbing her, of failing to greet her in the street. The ardor evident in the Tanck poems, as well as that there are a series of Petrarchan love poems that seem to be possibly addressed to Tanck, have led scholars to wonder whether there was a homoerotic element to their relationship. This is not clear, but even if it was present, it appears to have been only from the point-of-view of Schwarz. There is no evidence that her feelings of friendship were returned, or at least not at the depth that she expressed in her work.

TYING THE KNOT

Marriage had a profound effect on the lives of women, and was at once the culmination of their desire to attain social "adulthood," and the moment at which they were removed from family and friends. While it could be a positive experience, if the woman had a good relationship with her husband, it could also mean extreme difficulty and deprivation. A woman was subject to her husband, and expected to conform to his wishes and desires. If these did not suit her own temperament, it could be extremely difficult. Marriage was also associated with procreation, which was for the woman a

potentially life-threatening event. Many women did not survive their child-bearing years or, if they did, suffered the losses of many children in the course of those years.

Especially in Lutheran northern Germany, it was expected that most young women would marry. As unmarried women in their late teens and early twenties, both Schwarz and Zeidler would have been keenly aware that marriage was a likely event in their future. Both women reflect specifically on the desirability of marriage. Schwarz does so in a number of poems and other works, among which is an extended pastoral work, "Faunus," a prose eclogue in which she reflects upon the tension between a young woman's desire to marry for love, and her duty to be an obedient daughter who obeys the wishes of her father in the choice of her spouse. In the case of Zeidler, her poems were collected by her brother to be published in order to celebrate her upcoming wedding. In addition to reflecting on the advantages and disadvantages of marriage in one of her shorter poems, the entire work should be seen in the context of Zeidler leaving her father's home in order to join her husband and leaving her friends and relatives to make a home in a new place. Although she may have continued to write after her wedding, no other poems of hers have survived, and there is no further mention of Zeidler in the historical record other than to note that she had three children (names and birthdates unknown) and her husband remarried in 1708.

Second, occasional poems to celebrate weddings were extremely common in this period, and Schwarz and Zeidler both contributed poems for these festive occasions. It is important to explore the ways in which their poems conform to the established tradition of epithalamia and the ways in which they differ. As Helmut Ziefle notes in the afterword to his facsimile edition of Schwarz's works,

> Die von der Öffentlichkeit sehr begehrten Hochzeitsgedichte sind bei den Dichtern besonders beliebt gewesen, weil sie ihnen auf Grund der Natur des

> Stoffes die Möglichkeit gegeben haben, das unerschöpfliche Thema der bevorstehenden Liebesnacht und der Freuden der lebenslänglichen Bindung durch kunstreiche und pointierte Einfälle in einer auf das individuelle Paar passenden, unbegrenzten Variation darzustellen und dadurch ihr Talent zu zeigen. (Schwarz 33*)

Marriage was a significant social event. It "brought above all a rise in status, the attainment of social adulthood" (Wunder 27). Entering into marriage also demonstrated that the couple, individually and as a unit, had the economic wherewithal to support a family, the "material prerequisites for marriage" (Wunder 26). While both Schwarz and Zeidler include many of the conventional topoi and follow traditional forms in their epithalamia, a close reading of their collections also reveals a certain ambivalence or hesitancy. This is not surprising, as marriage could mean the end of creative output, because of the added duties required of a wife and mother. It could also, as it did for a large number of women, lead to premature death in childbirth (Donawerth and Seeff 106).

Epithalamia in the Work of Sibylle Schwarz

The Epithalamia in Schwarz's work demonstrate that she also followed traditional convention in her ways of writing about marriage, and indeed spoke positively about it as a time when a woman could find her second "Ich," the other half of her own being. In conventional fashion she writes that this is a goal to be pursued, and she also writes positively and playfully about the joys to be discovered on the first night together.

Sonnet auff etc. herrn Johan Schmiedeckens/ und Jungfrauen Emarentiae Schwartzin Hochzeit

According to Helmut Ziefle, this sonnet was probably written in 1636 or later (Schwarz 33*). He makes note of that she uses Martin Opitz as her model, writing, "[a]uch hier ist Opitz wieder ihr Vorbild. […] Sibylle … folgte dieser Tradition mit Enthusiasmus (Schwarz 33*). This sonnet does follow the conventions set forth by Opitz closely. Schwarz chose to write this sonnet in alexandrine lines, an iambic hexameter with caesura. As noted in Chapter 2, Opitz considers the alexandrine a fitting substitute for Greek or Roman heroic verse, the meter most commonly used for epic poetry. Of significance for Sibylle Schwarz, who so carefully followed Opitz's precepts, is that the alexandrine is only considered suitable for use by those with the requisite talent and learning. In other words, it is not simply a suitably high form of verse to use for important occasions, but also one that should only be used by a "true poet," who had the requisite learning and skill to appropriately use the line. She considered herself not only a woman writing a few poems to friends, but rather a true poet, with all of the erudition necessary to fully participate in literary endeavors on an equal footing with her male peers. Thus, for this sonnet, written in honor of the marriage of Johann Schmiedecken and Emarentia Schwartz, [60] she chose the most illustrious meter possible.

Her choice of form, a sonnet, also closely followed Opitz's precepts and the model. Immediately following his introduction to the alexandrine in Chapter VII of the Buch von der Deutschen Poeterey, he introduces the sonnet and quatrain, because "die Sonnet[61] vnnd Quatrains oder vierversichten epigrammata fast allezeit mit

60 This is not Schwarz's sister Emarentia, but another woman with the same name.

61 Opitz also notes that he prefers the term "sonnet," which derives from both the French and Italian, although he does not know the precise etymology of the name. He makes note of that this type of poem is referred to as a "klincgedicht" in Dutch, because the French term, "sonnette," was also the word for a type of small bell. Opitz wrote that

Alexandrinischen oder gemeinen versen geschrieben werden/ (denn sich die andern fast darzue nicht schicken)“ (Opitz 56). Her rhyme scheme also follows Opitz’s description precisely: abba, abba, ccd, eed. Thus this poem, as far as its form is concerned, follows conventions to the letter.

Let us now examine the text of the poem more closely:

Wie offte/ Jungfrau Braut/ hab ich euch hören sagen:
wie mißlich ding es sey/ in fremde Land zu ziehn /
vohn allen Freunden ab/ vohn allen Freunden hin/
in unbekannten Ort; mit uhrlaub ich muß fragen:
Ob dises Reden auch/ ob dises stehte klagen
sol stimmen überein mit ewern Wunsch und Sin?
Nein/ nein/ O Freundin/ nein/ wo ich mein selbst noch bin /
so glaub ich dises nicht/ eß wird euch wohl behagen
Zu ziehn/ so weit dis Land/ ja währ es auß der Welt:
Zieht dieser Freund doch mit/ der euch vihl mehr gefält/
als jemand/ sunsten tut; was wolt ihr euch beschwären
üm solch ein guhtes Ziel? Will ewer Augenlicht

“klincgedicht” could also be used in German, but that he himself preferred the word “Sonnet.” Opitz, *Buch von der deutschen Poeterey (1624) : mit dem "Aristarch" (1617) und den Opitzschen Vorreden zu seinen "Teutschen Poemata" (1624 und 1625) sowie der Vorrede zu seiner Übersetzung der "Trojanerinnen" (1625*) 56. The term “Sonnet” is used consistently throughout Schwarz’s collection, with one exception. When introducing the final sonnet cycle, Samuel Gerlach wrote: “Sibyllen Schwärzin Sonneten Oder Klinggedichte Anstat eines Anhangs zugeschriben etc. Herrn M. Peter Vanselauen etc. Seinen alten/ sunders vertrauten/ und liebwehrtesten Brüderlichen Freund/ in einem Klinggedicht vohn M. Samuel Gerlach.“ Thus, it was Gerlach’s own dedicatory poem to Peter Vanselau that was specifically called a Klinggedicht, and the term was also used as a definition for Sonnet. Gerlach’s Klinggedicht consisted of 16 lines. An extra couplet, expressing his desire for the future, is appended to the text.

doch mit und bey euch seyn/ damit ihr weiters nicht

wohrüber klagen könt/drüm sparet ewre Zären. (Schwarz II: D3r)

According to Ziefle, the Emarentia Schwartz addressed in this sonnet was not Schwarz's sister Emarentia (60*). This is obvious, based on biographical information concerning Emarentia's life and her marriages, but it is also obvious at a discursive level in the text. Schwarz chooses to address the recipient of this sonnet using ihr and euch rather than du and dich. This indicates a certain discursive separation, and differs from the more intimate "du" with which Schwarz addresses her sister in the poems written to her. In Schwarz's work, close friends tend to be addressed as du, while she uses the pronouns "ihr" and "euch" to address unrelated men, such as Peter Vanselau or Michael Behm, and also women of rank, such as Christina Maria von Seebach.

The sonnet is built on a tripartite structure, consisting of two quartets and a sextet. In the first quartet, the poet begins with a question directed to the young bride, asking whether her previous feeling that moving away and leaving all of her friends would be a terrible thing is still true to her wishes and desires. The idea that a woman getting married would be leaving behind friends and family was not uncommon. Susanne Elisabeth Zeidler also used that image in her poems to Anna Sikelius upon the latter's first marriage. The first is "Auff Herrn Gottfried Hübners/ und Jungfer Annen Susannen Sikelius hochzeitliches Ehrenfest/ d. 8. Febr. 1681" (Zeidler 61).

Es geht mir Jungfer Braut das Scheiden zwar zu Hertzen/

Das ich Sie meiden muß vermehret mir die Schmerzen.

Doch gläube Sie gewiß/ das ich in meinem Sinn

Wiewohl nicht in Person ihr gegenwärtig bin.

The second poem in which Zeidler mentions that a new bride would be far from friends is in the "Valet Gedicht/ in welchem Lisilis von Amarylis Abschied nahm" (Zeidler 66).

Amarylis sollen wir
Denn nu von einander scheiden/
Macht denn deine Freundschafft mir
Ein so über grosses Leyden?
Soll ich seyn von dir entrissen/
Und die treue Freundschafft missen?

Wiltu mein geliebtes Kind
Numehr gäntzlich mich verlassen/
Und dich durch den leichten Wind
Frölich machen auff die Strassen/
Dahin dich Fortuna führet
Und mit vollem Glücke zieret?

Unlike Schwarz, who wrote that the bride herself was concerned about leaving, Zeidler voices the loss of those left behind, but also the loss of true friendship (*treue Freundschafft*). Both Schwarz and Zeidler indicate that, for the young bride, life with her husband will make up for the loss. As Zeidler continues, in stanzas fourteen, fifteen and sixteen,

Amarillis meine Lust/
Ob uns gleich die Zeit wird trennen/
Und du mich verlassen must/
Wirstu doch nich leugnen können/
Sondern frey gestehen müssen/
Einen bessern Freund zu wissen.

Dein getreuer Hertzensfreund
Der dich ihm hat auserkohren
Der es gut und hertzlich meint
Der dir Lieb und Treu geschworen/
Der wird alles wohl ersetzen/
Und dich immerdar ergetzen.

Lebe wohl und sey vergnügt
Mit beglückter Lust und Freuden/
Was GOtt selbst zusammen fügt
Lasse er den Tod nicht scheiden.
So wird dir der Himmel geben
Ein nach Lust beliebtes Leben.

In the poem by Schwarz, the husband is characterized as "dieser Freund … der euch vihl mehr gefält." In the writing of Zeidler he is "einen bessern Freund" and "dein getreuer Hertzensfreund, der dich ihm hat auserkohren." Both poems indicate that the bride will be happiest with her husband. As the poet in the Schwarz poem answers the rhetorical question in the final six lines, the young bride would be happy to travel out of the country and even out of the world itself, as long as that friend who is most significant to her, the "light of her eyes" (*ewer Augenlicht*), is with her. Therefore, she should stop her tears.

Dr. Hermann Querin

Als Herr Doctor Hermannus Quirinus uns mit seiner lang entzogenen Gegenwart wieder erfrewet hat

Auff Herrn D. Herman Querins/ und Jungfraw Emarentiae Schwärzin/ Ihrer herzlieben Schwester Hochzeit

Schwarz dedicated two poems to the relationship between her sister Emarentia and Herman Querin: "Als Herr Doctor Hermannus Quirinus uns mit seiner lang entzogenen Gegenwart wieder erfrewet hat," and "Auff Herrn D. Herman Querins/ und Jungfraw Emarentiae Schwärzin/ Ihrer herzlieben Schwester Hochzeit." A third, "Hochzeit=Lied. Auß einem unvolkommen Werk" could also have been intended for this couple. It is an incomplete poem and gives no information about the possible addressees. In it, Schwarz addresses a "Schäfer," which leads to the conclusion that it may have been intended for inclusion in a larger pastoral work, such as her "Faunus." Helmut Ziefle writes that this work was probably written in 1637 or 1638, based on the themes of constantia and the triumph of love over trial and tribulation. In "Faunus" the figures of Faunus and Daphne can be read as disguised representations of Sibylle Schwarz and Judith Tanck, and there are certain indications that this poem could have been written to Herman Querin, the man who would later marry Schwarz's sister Emarentia and that this poem was also intended to grace the celebration of her sister's wedding. We will consider the three poems in the order listed above.

The first is a long poem consisting of 56 rhymed alexandrine couplets. In it Schwarz depicts her sister's suffering when Querin is away, and alludes to her own attempts to comfort her sister. Specifically, she reads to her from "Opitzen Trösterey" and about "Argenis" and "Poliarchus." Although the name Herman Querin is mentioned in the title, in the poem itself the sister complains, "wo bleibt mein Sylvius?" a possible reference to a poem by Aeneas. She also refers to her sister as "Themis," a Greek goddess of justice and proper living, the embodiment of divine will. Schwarz follows the convention of using Greek and Latin pseudonyms for friends, a practice also used by

Zeidler in some of her poems, but in this case Schwarz's choice of name could also symbolize the need for her sister to conform herself to divine will, moderate her emotion and be patient as she waits for the man she loves.

The final four lines contain triumphant song (voiced by "all") as both a comfort and justification for her sister: "Da fingen alle an: wir bringen was ihr wolt/ Da ewer Wundsch hingeht und das ihr wündschen solt/ Wir finden was ihr sucht/ wir wissen ewer Licht/ Lest euch schon alle Welt/ so lest euch er doch nicht." This is significant, because for many years Emarentia and Herman were not permitted to marry. In 1638 they finally received permission to marry, and the wedding was held on July 31. It was a time of great celebration for Emarentia and her sister, Sibylle, who seems to have suffered with her during the long absence of her beloved. Schwarz's death takes on more tragic overtones, because it took place on the day of her sister's wedding. This fact also demonstrates the prevalence of death in early modern life. It was not cause to stop another celebration which had been planned, and for which food had been prepared and to which guests were coming. The wedding took place in spite of the death. This particular story is significant for the period in another respect as well, because it demonstrates a young woman going against the wishes of some of her family, determined to marry the man of her choosing, over and against any misgivings on the part of her family. The Schwarz family felt that he would not be a good partner because of his ill health (Schwarz *10 n. 12). This proved true, as he died only a few years after the marriage took place. Good health could not necessarily prove the longevity of a union, however, as the experience of Zeidler's dear friend Anna Susanne Sikelius demonstrates. She married and lost her husband within six months (Moore, "Introduction" XXV). Her mother was ill with the plague, which he then caught when he attended her funeral (Moore, "Introduction" XXV). Sikelius lost her mother, three sisters, husband and father within a month (Moore, "Introduction" XXV) in

the course of that contagion. She was married, widowed, and had lost almost all of her family, including her parents and the sister closest to her in age, Maria Elisabeth, in a six month period.

The second poem composed by Schwarz to honor her sister's wedding appeared in the second volume of her collected poems (Schwarz II: K3r). It is identified as "Das letzte Vohr ihrem seel. Ende gemachtes Gedicht," and is one of the final two complete poems in the second volume. It is followed by "Ein Lied. Gegen Ihren Seel:Abschied," one of two poems composed by Schwarz concerning her own death. The song consists of two, stylistically different sections. The first is made up of six stanzas, each of which consists of four lines and is written in rhymed alexandrine couplets. In it, Schwarz draws on dark imagery of hissing snakes and screeching basilisks to embody the feelings of those who had worked against the marriage. It is a surprising opening to a marriage poem, but is a rhetorically effective method to silence those who had previously argued against the match. She personifies the negative agents as "[d]er Todten=bleiche Neid," "Herr Momus," "die Mißgunst" and "der Teuffel" and images of clapping of hands, pulling of hair, beating of the breast, screaming and crying to complete the sense of utter despair. This section ends with the call to join the poet in a song of praise:

> Der Teuffel wird zu Spott/ weil er nun muß erfahren/
> daß sein so grosser Fleiß/ in zweymahl zweyen Jahren/
> gahr wenig hat vermocht/ das frewt sich Jederman/
> und stimbt/ auß Fröligkeit/ mit mir ein Loblied an:

At this point, Schwarz changes from iambic to trochaic meter, and shortens the lines to four metric feet. She changes from rhymed couplets to alternate rhyme, and increases the stanza length to six lines. This section of the poem begins with a triumphant call to God:

> Dir sey Lob/ du Gott der Götter/

dir/ du grosser Herren Herr/
dir/ dem Hasser aller Spötter/
dir allein sey Lob und Ehr!
du Jahova sey gepreiset/
wo die güldne Sonne reiset.
Du allein hast können machen/
daß die itzt vertrawten zwey
nun des grimmen Neides Rachen
sind entkommen/ schaden frey/
dir sey Danck/ den falschen Zungen
ist ihr Anschlag nicht gelungen.

The figure of Neid and the devil remain throughout the rest of the poem, but always in antithetical contrast to the might of God, and the triumph of true love. As noted previously, Schwarz used the figure of *Neid* as the embodiment of her detractors and the criticism she faced. In this case, when embedding this figure in the wider context of her work, this places the detractors of poetry and her critics on the side opposed to the divine and the good. *Neid* in this case also pertains to the detractors of her sister's choice in husband. They are both wrong in their criticism and also demonstrating jealousy that she is able to marry for love. Schwarz also includes the *constantia* topos as descriptive of the nature of true love, which "Leidet gern/ was nur zu leiden" (suffers what needs to be suffered), a restatement of the sentiment expressed in I Corinthians 13:7 that love "bears all things." She closes the poem with the statement Venus will grant the lovers the prize they have earned, "*den verdienten Liebes=Lohn*/" and then exhorts everyone to join in the celebration:

Junger/ geh und hohl die Lieder/

und die Geissenhüter/ Pan/
lass doch einmahl hören wieder
deinen groben Dulcian!
brings und Harpfen/ Laut= und Geigen/
daß wir frölich uns erzeigen!
Faunus ist ümbringt mit Kräntzen/
Flora strewt das Hauß voll Graß/
wihr gehn zu den Abend=Täntzen/
Bacchus bring ein volles Glaß/
und ich spiel auff meiner Lauten/
in Gesundheit der vertrauten.
Wündsch so manche guhte Stunde/
als da Stern am Himmel stehn/
als man Sand ans Meeres Grunde/
und im Felde Graß mag sehn/
biß die Erd/ auß Erd' auff Erden
wiedrümb wird zur Erde werden.

In the final stanza, Schwarz wishes the lovers as many good hours together as there are stars in the sky, sand at the bottom of the sea, and grass in the fields, a conventional image. She also takes the opportunity to voice her own desires and speaks to her own situation, wishing to play her lute in health ("in Gesundheit") while others drink and dance at the wedding. Reading these final lines in the context of her lived experience, the somewhat strange ending to the poem, "biß Erd/ auß Erd' auff Erden wiedrümb wird zur Erde werden," takes on a new significance. While it is an extension of the imagery of time and the wish that the two lovers may be together until the end of time, it can also be

read as a foreshadowing of her own death and the return of "earth to earth," and may be indicative that she was occupied with thoughts of her own imminent death.

Epithalamia in the Work of Susanne Elisabeth Zeidler

Susanne Elisabeth Zeidler's work includes three wedding poems. The first, chronologically, was dedicated to her dear friend Anna Susanna Sikelius on the occasion of her first marriage to Gottfried Hübner on Saturday, February 8, 1681 (Zeidler 61). The second was dedicated to her brother and Anna Susanna Sikelius on the occasion of her second marriage and his first on Saturday, October 10, 1682 (Zeidler 71). The final wedding poem was dedicated to Samuel Müller, City Administrator in the city of Eisleben, and his bride Magdalena Sophia Glaß upon the occasion of their wedding on Friday, February 19, 1683 (Zeidler 24).

Hochzeitliches Ehrengedicht/ auff Herrn Samuel Müllers/ Churfürstl. Sächs. Kriegs=Commissarii und Stadtvoigts zu Eißleben 2c. Bräutigams. Und Jungf. Magdalenen Sophien Glaßin/ als Braut Hochzeit=Tag/ den 19. Febr. 1683

Let us consider first the poem written for the marriage of Samuel Müller and Magdalena Sophia Glaß (Zeidler 24). This is the second public poem, and also the second poem included in the collection, indicating its status. Both Zeidler and her brother contributed congratulatory poems to Müller, who held the politically important position of "*Stadtvogt"* (city administrator) in the nearby town of Eißleben. The poem is written in the form of a 27-stanza song. Each stanza is written in eight lines of four iambic feet, and uses alternating rhyme.

Zeidler uses the familiar *topos* of love and war. She draws on both mythological and Christian symbols, as she deftly weaves the concepts of love and war together. In the first stanza, she invokes Mars, the God of war, and Lucifer, who seeks to destroy peace and unity.

So bald der Himmel war erschaffen/
Und dieses grosse Erden Haus /
Da theilte Mars die Krieges=Waffen
Zugleich in alle Länder aus/
Und Lucifer war stets beflissen
Zu trennen Fried und Einigkeit/
Wer hievon will ein mehrers wissen/
Der lese wie vor langer Zeit.

Zeidler, by depicting the man and woman doing "battle," a sensual image of the act of love-making that served to bind two people together and complete the social contract of marriage, is using a common *topos*, but she begins in an unusual fashion. By invoking both Mars and Lucifer, she combines Classical and Christian symbolism. The image in this stanza also undermines the concept of war as in any way justified by divine ordination by associating it with Lucifer. The next two stanzas then undermine that reading, offering a more conventional view of war. In stanzas two and three, she names Abraham, King Saul, King David, the Persian Kings, and Alexander the Great as positive images of successful warriors. In the final four lines of the third stanza, however, she again undermines the initial reading by naming Venus, a female deity, as the one who would conquer all of the world, "[s]o wohl als Mars/ der Kriegesheld" (Zeidler 24). Although saying that love, usually embodied by Venus's son Cupid, could conquer all was not uncommon, it is in keeping with her own aesthetic that Zeidler chose instead to use Venus, thereby maintaining a strong female presence in her work.

In stanzas four through seven she mentions familiar heroes who were conquered by Venus, or by the shots from Cupid's bow, "[d]er mehr als Mars zu fürchten war." Mixing Christian and Classical symbolism, she mentions the lovers Phoebus and Daphne,

Piramus and Thisbe, Hero and Leander, and Jacob and Rachel. Each relationship listed is part of standard convention, however each also arguably ended badly, except that of Jacob and Rachel, which was nonetheless beset by great difficulty. They are evocative of the willingness to suffer for the sake of true love.

In stanzas eight and nine she mentions the "mighty" biblical heroes David and Samson, who were both able to withstand great armies, but succumbed to the charms of women. As she writes about Samson, "[d]och wurde seine Macht zubrochen durch eines Weibes Schmeicheley." These are again negative examples, because the lust felt by each man led to their eventual downfall and to death. One lost his own life, the other was punished by the death of the child born out of his adultery and deceit. However, Zeidler is not referring to the tragedies that befell Samson and David, simply to the power of love and of women over the two warriors. Her positive reading is emphasized in the beginning of the next stanza, which reads, "[w]er wollte dem nicht Beyfall geben?" and she writes in stanzas ten through thirteen about the differences between love, the creator of life, and war, which destroys life. She uses antithetical statements, alternating between "Mars" and "Amor." She concludes this particular section in stanza thirteen, in which she states that a "Venuskind" (child of Venus) has a much better life than a "Kriegsmann" (warrior). It is at this point that she first speaks to the recipients of the poem. She addresses stanzas fourteen through twenty-three to Müller and stanza twenty-four to his young bride, after which she again addresses the final stanzas, twenty-five to twenty-seven, to Müller.

In stanza fourteen, Zeidler establishes that Müller is "marching to war" under the "banner of Venus."

Herr Stadtvoigt Müller lässet spühren

Daß er/ wie sonst ein Kriegsheld/

Ein Regiment auch könne führen/

Doch weil ihm Venus angemeld
Die Liebes Waffen zu gebrauchen/
So giebt er sich ganz willig drein
Läßt Mars mit Blitz und Pulver rauchen
Und will der Liebe dienstbar seyn.

The second half of the poem includes a reflection on the nature of love. She exhorts Müller to "overcome" the beautiful young nymph by the silver stream (Stanza 15, line 1), who should allow herself to be caught (stanza 15, line 4), and who in turn will capture him using her beautiful cheeks, virtue and sweet words (stanza 15, lines 5-6). "Drauff wird geschlossen der Accord." This terminology, especially the use of the word "Accord" underscores the mutuality of the love relationship between the two partners. In the sixteenth stanza, she likewise emphasizes mutuality in the use of the word "*Beyde*" (both) at the beginning of the stanza, and she indicates that the *Liebes=Streit* will end in peace for both partners.

Das Beyde sollen also lieben/
Wie ihnen schon vor langer Zeit
Cupido selber fürgeschrieben/
Alsdenn wird nach den Liebes=Streit
Der Friede völlig eingegangen/
Und wenn das Lieben so vollbracht/
Wie sie es beyderseits verlangen/
So ist der Friede recht gemacht.

In this stanza, Zeidler argues that love-making should satisfy both partners mutually, and that only this can bring about a properly-made peace.

In the second of the two wedding poems dedicated to Anna Susanna Sikelius, Zeidler ends with a reflection entitled "An die Frau Braut" (Zeidler 73) about the state of matrimony.

Meine Schwester/ liebe Braut/ dieses muß ich dich noch fragen /
Bitte wollest mir hievon deine rechte Meinung sagen.
Weil du dreyerley probiret/ Jungfer = Weiber = Wittben stand /
Wird dir eines ieden Leben besser seyn als mir bekant.
Schwestergen nu sage mir/ welches unter diesen allen
Dir am angenehmsten sey und am besten hat gefallen?

She asks her friend, who had lived the three conditions of an adult woman, being an unmarried young woman, a wife and a widow, which role was to be preferred. This epigrammatic poem is written in trochaic octameter, a verse-form Zeidler used only three times: in the wedding poem for her brother and Anna Susanna's wedding, the brief poem "An die Frau Braut," and poem XX, the "Neue Jahrs=Andacht." The rhythm is quick, and trips lightly, conveying the feel of a wedding dance. The poem itself is playful, yet the question must have weighed heavily for Zeidler. She herself had not yet married at this point, and she might perhaps have wondered how her life would change. Marriage entailed a great deal of peril for women, as death in childbirth was so common. For Zeidler herself, marriage equaled the end of her writing career, although her husband-to-be was supportive of her writing, and wrote proudly and fondly about her writing. In spite of his support it does not appear to have been possible for her to continue after she married, as demonstrated by the lack of extant poems after that time. One must assume that this was because of the additional burden placed upon her to keep the household and later to care for her children.

As Fischetti and many others note, in the seventeenth century, poetry was primarily a social art. It functioned as courtly representation and also in bourgeois circles to reinforce community (22). This chapter, which has dealt with the ways in which Schwarz and Zeidler discursively enacted their relationships with others and their place within the community has demonstrated a number of things. First, although each woman approached writing from a different perspective, both Schwarz and Zeidler demonstrate a thorough command of poetic norms and conventions in this period. This underscores that their work is as accomplished as that of male contemporaries. In their enactment of relationship through poems written to commemorate given events, they shed light on a woman's place in society. This is evident both when they use conventional poetic devices and when they transgress or subtly shift generic norms to suit their purpose.

Both women give insight into their relationships with other women, particularly in the friendships between Sibylle Schwarz and Judith Tanck, and that between Susanne Elisabeth Zeidler and Anna Susanna and Maria Elisabeth Sikelius. Zeidler clearly drew great comfort from her friendship, and wrote about that they would send one another letters and poems of greeting when absent. There are two epistle-like poems in the work of Zeidler, both written to her brother in Wittenberg. These cross the boundary between a letter, normally written in prose, and a poem and perhaps give an example of the types of letters or poems the three women might have exchanged.

The poems written to mark the occasions of weddings provide insight into the way these events were depicted by female poets. A wedding in particular marked a significant change for a woman, and could result in her removal from friends and familiar surroundings. Many scholars have discussed that marriages were not necessarily based on love in this period; financial considerations as well as those of family status were of greater concern. However, the moment of joining between a man and woman is

consistently depicted as joyful in Zeidler's poems, which is fully in keeping with poetic convention. Only once does she voice trepidation or concern related to marriage. This occurs in a brief poem Zeidler addresses to her friend, Anna Susanna Sikelius-Hübner on the occasion of her marriage to Zeidler's brother in October 1682. Anna Susanna had at that point been both married and widowed, and was again marrying. Zeidler asked her which of the three estates ("Stände") of woman she deemed best: unmarried, married or widowed. The rhetorical question remained unanswered. Schwarz in turn depicts the duties of husband and wife in a generally positive light, but writes frequently of the necessity to avoid the temptations of physical love, presumably outside the context of marriage. It is therefore somewhat unexpected that Zeidler defended her right as an unmarried woman (even if it is a bit tongue-in-cheek) to write about marital love, and then did so in quite veiled terms, while Schwarz, whose general depiction of physical love is so negative, wrote the sensuous "Ohe lasst uns ins Bette" (Away, let us to bed) about a young bride eager to experience the joys of married life.

CHAPTER 5: SLIPPING THE BONDS OF EARTH

Bemüht/ euch nicht mir Tröstung zuzusprechen/
Kein Wunder wär es möcht das Band zerbrechen
Daß meinen Leib mit seiner Seel' verbind/
-Kuntsch, "Das blutende Mutter=Herz," lines 31-33

The joys of physical love could, for a woman, also lead quickly to the pain of death and suffering. As noted above in the story of the first marriages of both Anna Susanne Sikelius and Emarentia Schwarz, death was an ever-present danger in the early modern period, and the death of a husband often left the widow destitute. A far more common occurrence was for a woman to die as the result of a difficult pregnancy, or to lose young children. Schwarz herself died on the day of her sister's wedding, yet the celebration took place, albeit surely marked with the sadness at the loss of the beloved sister who had supported Emarentia in the long years she waited for approval to marry the man of her choice. While occasional poems marked the coming together of people in community, to celebrate friendships and marriages and other joyful occasions, they were also used to commemorate the breaking of those bonds. The concept of death is omnipresent in the seventeenth century and it was not unusual for a woman to write a poem commemorating the death of a close friend or family member. One of the entries in Woods and Fürstenwald is a young girl of only six, who is recorded as having contributed a poem on the death of her mother. This somewhat unusual fact demonstrates the prevalence of the tradition, and the expectation that women could and should contribute poems to the funeral booklets created to accompany the loss of a loved one, especially in Lutheran northern Germany, as Anna Linton notes (7).

Blackwell and Zantop discuss that while women were rather conservative in their choice of genre and topic, they also stretched the boundaries of genre and tradition to allow the incorporation of emotion and women's experience. Although her work is strongly reminiscent of and dependent upon Opitz, Schwarz also finds her own voice in her Epicedia,[62] of which eleven are collected in the two volumes. Two are dedicated to the death of the last Prince of Pomerania in 1637, three are dedicated to the death of Alexander Vorbusch, two to the Schöner family and one each upon the death of Jakob Jäger's wife and of Alexander Christian. She also wrote two *Sterbelieder* (death songs) for her own death, one of which was written only days before she died. This was a common phenomenon in the Seventeenth Century, when "dying well"[63] included exhibiting a Christian stoic demeanor immediately prior to death, and dying peacefully and calmly, sure of the soul's safer home in the *Jenseits*. This term, which literally translates as "other side" symbolized eternal life in heaven, whereas the term *Diesseits*, literally "this side," referred to life in the world prior to death. This philosophy was a central theme in the Zeitgeist of the period, and also appeared in non-Christian works, such as in the *Memoirs of Gluckl of Hameln*. Gluckl writes of the loss of her dear husband in Book 5 of the Memoirs: "Thus he died in purity and holiness, and they saw from his end the man that he was" (Hameln 152).

Before we examine the epicedia, it is necessary to briefly enumerate the main characteristics and traditional motifs of these types of poems during the Baroque period. In 1974 Hans-Henrik Krummacher identified the three main sections of an epicedium as

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62 The term "epicedium" comes from the Greek Epikedeion and is a poem written to commemorate the death of an individual.

63 An excellent introduction to changes in the historical perception of death and dying and the ways it functioned in society in different periods is the work of Philip Ariès.

praise (*laudatio*), lament (*lamentatio*) and comfort (*consolatio*), although he emphasized that they need not appear in this order (Krummacher 97). The three main sections can be elaborated upon in two further sections, one of which illustrates the loss suffered by those left behind *(iacturae demonstratio*) while the other warns the living to keep sight of their own final goal (*memento mori*) (Krummacher 97).

Although Schwarz's Epicedia form only a small part of her oeuvre, they are central to any discussion of her worldview. She crafts her poems using traditional *topoi* and conventional rhetorical devices and intersperses these with personal experience. Erich Trunz believes that the tendency to adhere to convention rather than write *Erlebnislyrik* results from the Baroque desire to harmoniously fit the individual into the divine order. Marian Szyrocki echoes this idea. "Das Einordnen des Menschen in die göttliche Harmonie bedeutet für die damaligen Menschen Tugend. Daher ist nicht das Zufällige, das private Einzelschicksal wichtig, sondern all das, was eine allgemeine Gültigkeit beanspruchen kann. […] immer wieder zieht [der Dichter] Vergleiche zwischen seinem Ich und der Menschheit" (Szyrocki 15). Schwarz's epicedia follow Baroque convention, but also, in some cases, offer intimate personal details. As Anna Linton notes, the occasion of a death was one that discouraged poetic experimentation, because the *gravitas* of the situation called for proper adherence to convention (Linton 27).

EPICEDIA IN THE WORK OF SUSANNE ELISABETH ZEIDLER

Zeidler included only two epicedia in her collection of poems. The first was written on the death of her grandmother and the second on the death of a dear friend. Stylistic differences underscore the depth of grief Zeidler felt at the sudden loss of a close friend to illness in contrast to the loss of her grandmother. The differences between the

two poems also show her command of generic norms and her ability to write poems appropriate to given events.

Auf das sel. Absterben ihrer lieben Großmutter Fr. Susannen Zeidlerin gebohrnen Petrejusin/ im 87. Jahr ihres Alters d. Joh. Baptistae 1680.

This poem, the sixth included in the collection, was written shortly after the loss of her grandmother in 1680 and conforms to the generic norms for an Epicedium written to mourn the loss of a woman who had lived a long and full life (Zeidler 39). The poem is one of the shorter ones in her oeuvre, consisting of only 48 lines written in rhymed alexandrines that alternate between masculine and feminine endings.

The first twelve lines are a general rumination about the nature of life. She describes life as "unbeständig" and filled with "Angst" and "Noth." It is, even if one reaches the age of seventy or eighty, only very short, but yet filled with work and trouble. The reference to the specific ages of seventy or eighty comes from Psalm 90:10. Although life can have occasional joys, these quickly pass. "Und so geht's immerfort: Das Glück steigt auf und ab/ Biß sich der Mensch zuletzt legt in des Todes=Grab" (Zeidler 39).

In the second group of twelve lines, she writes about the life of a person who has been plagued with pain and sickness, and writes that such a person would welcome death. Such a life is even more difficult than that described in the previous sections. Zeidler deftly transitions between the two as follows: "Wird dieses Leben nun für nichtig gantz geschätzet/ // In welchen man sich doch ein wenig noch ergetzet/ // Ach wie gar nichtig wird ein solches Leben seyn/ // In welchen nichts/ denn nur des bittern Creutzes Pein // Den Menschen überhäufft und allenthalben dringet/ // Und ihn in grosse Angst und schweres Leiden bringet" (Zeidler 39). By repeating the term "nichtig" and the phrase "in

welchen," she draws a parallel between the two and emphasizes how much more difficult such a life would be.

This brings us to the middle of the poem, in which Zeidler, after having set the stage with a discussion of the difficulties of this world finally names the person who was lost: her grandmother. "Und also hat der Tod von uns hinweg genommen // Und ist aus dieser Welt Beschwerligkeit gekommen // Frau Zeidlerin: Die offt des Todes hat begehrt/ // Wird ihrer Bitte nun nach ihrem Wunsch gewährt" (Zeidler 39-40). Although in the first line Zeidler writes that death has taken her grandmother from the family, and introduces in that one line the sense of loss felt by the family, far more time is spent saying that she had desired death, and that she has been freed from their suffering on earth. In the next twelve lines she elaborates this idea contrasting the suffering her grandmother experienced on earth with the joys she is experiencing in heaven. "Die tausend Seufftzer hat dem Himmel zugeschicket/ // Die wird nun ihres Leids ergetzet und erquicket/" (Zeidler 40). This is a conventional form of consolation for the bereaved, and was also frequently used in Epicedia written when children had died as a way of diminishing the suffering experienced by those left behind.

In the final eight lines, Zeidler addresses her grandmother directly and in this way gives voice to the suffering of those left behind.

> Es geht uns/ Selige/ zwar euer Tod zu Hertzen/
> Der Abschied kräncket uns/ und macht uns bittre Schmertzen/
> Doch trösten wir uns/ das uns GOtt in jener Zeit
> Hat eine ewige Zusammenkunfft bereit.
> Und weil ihr auch bey uns nicht ewig bleiben können/
> So wollen wir euch nun die Himmelsfreude gönnen.
> Wohl dem der es so weit wie ihr ietzund gebracht.

Der lebt recht wohl beglückt. Ade zu guter Nacht. (Zeidler 40)

It is curious that this poem lacks the traditional *laudatio* section, in which the person lost was praised for what they had accomplished on earth. The only sentence of praise is at the end of the poem, in which Zeidler writes: "Wohl dem des es so weit wir ihr ietzund gebracht" (Zeidler 40). This could be interpreted as praise for having died or praise for having lived a long life, neither of which would have been in control of the grandmother. She is not praised for being a good mother or grandmother, for keeping a household, for her virtue or for her piety. We are left with the image of an old woman who spent her years suffering and desiring death, a wish which was finally granted at the age of 87.

Epicedium on the Death of Maria Elisabeth Sikelius

In contrast to the epicedium on the death of her grandmother, the second epicedium included by Zeidler in her collection is her most extensive work. It consists of 280 lines, a full 64 lines longer than the second longest poem. The length of the poems reflect the value she placed upon them. Whereas most of her poems are between 40 and 100 lines, three consist of 200 or more lines. The first is the 200-line poem written in honor of Margrave Friedrich Wilhelm of Brandenburg's visit to Magdeburg on June 4, 1681 (Zeidler 17), the second is the 216-line Epithalamium written in honor of the wedding between the Sophia Glaß and Samuel Müller, Stadvogt in Eisleben dated February 19, 1683 (Zeidler 24). But the longest of the three is the funeral poem written upon the death of Maria Elisabeth Sikelius, one of her dearest friends, dated July 1681 (Zeidler 94). The poem was written shortly after Sikelius succumbed to the plague, along with several other members of her family. Her mother and a sister predeceased Sikelius in the same month. Indeed Maria Elisabeth's elder sister, Anne, lost two sisters, her mother, father and her first husband Gottfried Hübner within several weeks. This same

Anne later married Zeidler's brother, Johann Gottfried, in October 1682, but appears to have predeceased him before his move to Halle in 1699.

The poem begins with a general lament concerning the state of the world and the failure of peace to bring about the return of an ordered, safe existence to the "Mansfelder Land." Zeidler bemoans that the people in the county of Mansfeld thought they would be able to live in safety now that peace had arrived, only to discover that illness was plaguing the land.

Following the opening lament, she talks about what the land has suffered; thus she demonstrates the loss of life. The sense of suffering is heightened by the mention of children who have died.

Das hochbetrübte Land/ das durch das grimme Morden
Und Tyranney der Pest so gar verwüstet worden /
Das stecket allbereit die Trauerfahne aus /
Weil man in grosser Zahl die Kinder trägt hinaus.

She goes on to discuss exactly which children have been carried out – the ones raised on Mansfeld land. The land is personified as a grieving mother receiving her children back into her dark womb, "den finstern Schos der Erden," which is covered with the flowers of mourning, "mit Trauerflor bedeck" (Zeidler 94). The poet now raises the plight of the land itself, which is no longer cared for as it should be. She evokes reciprocal relationships between the farmer and the field, bees and those who enjoyed their honey, vineyards and those who drank of its fruits, and trees and those who enjoyed their fruit. Here is the section concerning wine:

Desgleichen wollen uns des Edlen Weines Reben
Nicht mehr den süssen Safft und Himmels=Nactar geben/
Sie stehen kümmerlich/ ihr nasses Auge weint/

Dieweil diejenigen nicht mehr vorhanden seynd

Die ihrer Tugend Preiß biß an die Sterne spielten/

So bald sie nur bey sich desselben Würckung fühlten. (Zeidler 95)

The loss of the trees is described as being unnatural, "wieder die Natur und ihren Brauch" (Zeidler 95). Although it is summer, the trees stand naked as in winter as a result of the loss of those who normally care for them. The caterpillars come to eat the fruit that was not picked, and strip the trees of all their leaves as well. The trees stand "so kahl und traurig … als wie ein Dornenstrauch" (Zeidler 95). Although she does not specifically allude to a connection with Christ and crucifixion, the combination of naked trees and the image of a thorn bush immediately followed by the mention of wine also evokes this loss and death. The poet does not develop the imagery further, so it does not seem to have been an intentional combination of elements.

At this point, Zeidler begins to transition toward the topic of the Epicedium, the loss of the young woman (*Jungfrau*) Maria Elisabeth. She begins this transition slowly, first moving from the wine to the field of flowers, which are no longer happy because those who enjoyed their beauty (*Zierligkeit*), young women, are no longer around to enjoy them. Like the flowers blown apart by the winds, young women, whose beauty was founded on "weak feet," are gone as well (Zeidler 95). The use of this image is unexpected, because it is normally one associated with love poetry and the call to seize the day, because beauty fades quickly. Even in its original context, there is an element of *memento mori* present in this image. Zeidler emphasizes this aspect to depict the loss of beauty caused by death. Discussing the young women she writes, "Die sind den Blumen gleich vom Winde abgeweht/ // Weil ihre Schönheit nur auf schwachen Füssen steht" (Zeidler 95).

Zeidler combines the image of passing beauty and death in one of her Epigrams as well, although to slightly different effect. In this poem passing beauty is evoked using the image of wind blowing the petals of the flower away.

Von den Lilien

Ob gleich die Lilien in weissen Silber stehen/
So pflegt der Wind doch bald die Blätter abzuwehen;
Und so bricht auch der Tod der Menschen Schönheit ab
Allein die Tugend bleibt beständig biß ins Grab. (Zeidler 88).

Zeidler first explores the sorrow of the earthly realm by discussing the earth itself, the grass, the trees, bees, wine and flowers. She then moves on to the heavenly bodies and particularly the sun. At this point she evokes the traditional Classical embodiments of these and names specific gods and goddesses. She uses both Greek and Latin mythological figures. She writes that Phoebus, the sun, has hidden his face and proud Phaeton, another personification of the sun, has thrown himself into the sea out of pure sadness. This is an unexpected reworking of the Phaeton story. In traditional mythology, Phaeton does indeed fall into the sea, but it is because he is reckless in leading the chariot of the sun across the sky and this results in his death. She uses a conventional image and shifts its meaning to suit it to her purpose in this poem and pull in as much imagery as possible to evoke the sadness she clearly feels at the loss of her dear friend.

The beautiful rainbow is also sad and all of Helicon, the mountain of the Muses, is covered in the cloth of mourning. Aurora, another embodiment of the sun and daybreak, will not shine and has hidden her pale face with clouds. Minerva grieves for the famous people who have gone to their graves and says that the cherished priesthood has also been taken by death. Maria Elisabeth was not the only member of the Sikelius family to die. Her father, the pastor in Beesenstedt, died only a few days after she did.

Zeidler continues the lament by speaking specifically of the plight of poets. She notes that the Muses have flown from their hilltop and Apollo no longer desires to sit on Parnassus, because he no longer enjoys his art and many a child of the Muses has been led away by *Morta*, death. Daphne, the laurel tree, doubts whether she will ever again cover the head of the poets, because so many of them are gone. At this point the lyric "Ich" speaks a word of consolation and hope for the future to the readers of the poem, when she writes:

> Doch lässt sie gleich wohl noch die edlen Zweige grünen/
> Damit ins künfftige noch ferner zubedienen
> Manch kluges Musen=Kind und edlen Pallas Sohn
> Der schon vor langer Zeit verdient die Lorberkron.

This poem is not primarily a statement of her poetic aesthetic and therefore Zeidler does not distinguish as strictly here between those who serve Pallas and those who serve Phoebus, as she does in the poem to Rhapsodius, the friendship poems to the Sikelius sisters, and poems to her brother, but the poem does still refer to a "kluges Musen=Kind" and "Pallas Sohn" who might need to be garlanded in laurel and praised. In this poem, both seem to be gendered masculine, because she only uses the masculine relative pronoun in the following line. She is here therefore remaining completely within the gender norms expected. This is in keeping with the contention that an Epicedium is not the proper vehicle for poetic experimentation (Linton 27).

After evoking suffering in all realms of nature, culminating with losses specific to poets, she finally comes to the pivotal point:

> Derhalben haben mir die Musen auffgetragen /
> Das ich an ihrer stat/ und zwar zu diesem mahl
> Ein Kind beklagen soll/ das neulich in die Zahl

Und in die Schwesterschafft der Musen sey gekommen/
Das haben ihnen nu die Pest hinweg genommen
Durch ihre Grausamkeit/ und in das Grab gebracht/
Das schmertzte sie so sehr: Sie hätten zwar gedacht/
Sie wolten ihr zur Lust ein Hochzeit-Carmen bringen/
So müsten sie ihr nu ein Grablied helffen singen.
Für Schmertz/ Bekümmernüß und höchster Traurigkeit
Sie zu beehren sicht ein eintzig Wörtgen tichten/
Darum so solte ichs an ihrer stat verrichten.

Zeidler continues to allow tension to build by not yet naming the person who has been lost. The reader has only learned that it is a young woman who has recently joined the sisterhood of the Muses and for whom the Muses expected to write a wedding song. Instead she was suddenly torn away by the Plague and they must write a funerary poem instead. Being asked by the Muse to lament the loss of someone without knowing the name is a rhetorical conceit which allows Zeidler to heighten and emphasize the great sense of tragedy and loss felt upon hearing whose death it is that she should lament. She indicates that she was curious why they would ask her to do this duty, but did not feel she should ask the Muses. She discovered later that it was the young Sikelius and mentions this in lines 95 and 96 (Zeidler 97).

This marks the beginning of a *laudatio* and *lamentatio* section related directly to the poet's relationship with Sikelius (Zeidler 97). Zeidler moves back and forth between *laudatio*, praise of the departed, and *lamentatio*, mourning the loss. Anna Linton writes about the relationship between praise and lamentation in traditional Epicedia. The praise of the person lost deepens the sense of loss, and leads to lamentation (Linton 69). The virtues do not allow an idea of who Sikelius might have been. These same virtues could

belong to any young unmarried girl at the time; the catalogue of virtues formed a common part of the poet's repertoire. But it is when Zeidler begins to examine her sense of personal pain and loss that her writing becomes much more personal. She writes about the physical nature of her suffering, "Ich kann für Weinen fast kein eintzig Wort mehr sprechen. // Mein Hertz das möchte mir für Traurigkeit zubrechen/" (Zeidler 97).

In the following *laudatio* section the lyric "Ich" addresses Sikelius directly. She remembers their last contact and asks where she should possibly begin to show her honor. Heaven itself, she writes, had given all of the virtues appropriate for a young girl: *Demuth, Höfligkeit, Geschickligkeit* and *Zucht*. She not only had them, but she had them in abundance. She was the crown of all of the Nymphs. Zeidler lists all of the virtues and discusses each one in relation to her friend and their friendship.

Ich schätze mich beglückt und recht vergnügt zu seyn/
Als ich/ mein liebstes Hertz mit dir mich liesse ein.
In treue Schwesterschafft/ dazu ich dich erkohren/
Und eine ewige Vertrauligkeit geschworen/
War ich gleich nicht wie du an Qualitäten reich/
So waren wir iedoch einander ziemlich gleich
An Gaben des Gemüths/ ich liebte dich vor allen/
Und liesse mir auch das/ was dir gefiel/ gefallen. (Zeidler 98)

She describes their friendship and how she followed Sikelius, who was five years her junior, in everything. Expressions of Zeidler's sense of loss repeatedly intrude into the *laudatio*. It is an extraordinary personal expression, especially when compared to the poem written to her grandmother.

In one section, Zeidler uses the statement that her friend is now with the stars, normally associated with *consolatio*, to again write about her own sense of loss.

Du lebest zwar beglückt/ dort bey der Sterne Zinnen/
Ich aber muß numehr in steter Einsamkeit
Zu bringen ohne dich die bittre Lebenszeit. (Zeidler 99).

She then likens herself to Echo, who faded in great sorrow until she was no more than her own voice.

Und weil ich nicht mehr an persönlich bey dir seyn/
So senck' ich meine Gunst mit in dein Grab hinein
Gleich wie die Echo dort/ die den Narcissum liebte/
Und sich um seine Gunst so hefftig sehr betrübte/
Das sie in kurtzer Zeit dem Schatten gleich verschwand/
Und man nichts mehr von ihr denn nur die Stimme fand.
Die man noch diesen Tag kann in den Wäldern hören.
Und so würd ich mich auch für Traurigkeit verzehren. (Zeidler 99)

The poet then writes that Sikelius may be free, but that she is left in sorrow. She promises to love her as long as she herself has life and as long as the world is as it is (as long as the meadows bloom and have roses). Her love will only stop when the impossible happens, as demonstrated by the images of water flowing uphill and ships sailing on dry land. As these are impossible and thus will never happen, it emphasizes the permanence of her love.

After this Zeidler calls on the three chaste Graces "Ihr keuschen Gratien" to help write the lament for her friend, and she calls on all of nature to sorrow as well (trees, nightingales). This is a deft return to the opening of the poem. After this, the imagery relates to burial and the decoration of the casket and the body with flowers. She lists flowers that are typically left at the graveside, such as rosemary, lilies, tulips, roses, and daffodils, the "Narcisse" (Zeidler 101). This imagery allows her to easily turn to a bridal

image, which is one frequently used for young girls who died before they could marry. She also draws upon the biblical parable of the wise and foolish virgins, and alludes to Sikelius as a wise young woman who has prepared the oil for her lamp and is therefore ready when the bridegroom arrives.

Doch schmück ich nur den Leib/ weil Gott die Seele schmuckt.
Die schöne Himmels Braut/ die hat sich schon geschickt/
Und ihre Lampe mit dem Glaubensöl bereitet/
Da sie denn so gezieret/ die Engel selbst begleitet
Biß an des Himmels Schloß/ und sie dahin gebracht/
Allwo ihr Bräutigam sich schon bereit gemacht
Mit schöner Lieblichkeit und hertzlichen Verlangen
Sein auserwehltes Kind gantz herrlich zu empfangen/
Da er sie allbereit in solchen Stand gesetzt/
Wo sie kein Unfall mehr betrübet und verletzt.

She begins the final consolatio with beautiful wedding imagery. This reminds the reader of the statement by the Muses at the beginning of the poem, that they had thought that they would be writing a wedding poem for her. Instead it is death, but depicted as a beautiful wedding with the great bridegroom who has brought her to a place where she can never be troubled. The image that a woman will be often taken away from friends and family in order to go to her husband's home is useful here. Instead of up the road to Halle, she has gone to heaven.

She calls on friends and family not to sorrow and cry for her loss, because that cannot bring her back, but rather to rejoice with her in her newfound joy. The final twelve lines of the poem are the *Inschrift* she wants included on the tombstone for Sikelius. The

final thought utilizes the *memento mori* topos, reminding the readers that they will be travelling to the same destination:

[…] Sie ist nu an den Port

Der Seligkeit gelangt/ und an den edlen Ort/

Da wir auch allzumahl gedencken hin zu kommen.

This *memento mori* topos is a typical part of works of consolation. It is not simply the reminder that *hodie mihi, cras tibi*, but it is also the consolation that there will be an opportunity to again be with the loved one.

This poem is as complete and thorough and remarkable as any by Gryphius. It is a personal expression of deep loss, and it is a deftly-constructed rhetorical whole. In her work, Zeidler fulfills generic norms, but also recasts conventional imagery in a way to suit it to the poem and the lived experience she attempts to capture. This adds a very personal expression of sorrow that appears to expand the generic norms. In her other work it creates the very strong sense that it is the poet herself speaking. And it is in the single-voicedness of her work that she most strongly contrasts with Sibylle Schwarz.

EPICEDIA IN THE WORK OF SIBYLLE SCHWARZ

Schwarz included a number of Epicedia in her collection. Two were written about the deaths of women, one concerning the death of a child, and several were written on the occasion of the deaths of prominent men. In two cases, the deaths of Christian Vorbusch and the death of Duke Bogislav XIV, she wrote more than one poem. The poems are primarily addressed to people Schwarz knew, save in the case of the poems written concerning the death of the Duke.

Uber den früzeitigen Todesfall Frawen Catharina Essens/ Hern D. Johannis Schönern ehelichen lieben Haußfrawen

In the oldest of the Epicedia included in the collection, dedicated to Johann Schöner upon the death of his wife, Schwarz adheres to convention. However, she not only includes personal information, but also appears to allow her own grief to be expressed. Schwarz had lost her mother only a few years before she wrote this poem and she expresses her strong identification with the children. She devoted a much larger section of the poem than expected to the depiction of the loss inflicted upon children and the household at the loss of the mother. In this way she followed convention, but also shifted the prevailing norm to provide consolation to others suffering loss and give expression to her own. Although Schwarz appears to have begun writing poetry shortly after the loss of her mother, there are no poems to her mother, and only infrequent mention of her. This poem is therefore also an example of one that we can use to attempt to reconstruct small parts of Schwarz's biography from the evidence in the poem.

This Epicedium was probably written shortly after the death of Johann Schöner's wife, Catharina Erßken, on November 18, 1634, and is thus a relatively early work, only two months after her first published poem[64] and only a year after the oldest recorded poem in her published works.[65] The poet is only 13½ years old at this point and the death of her mother occurred a mere four years earlier. It is one of only three epicedia dedicated to the death of a woman. This poem is formally conventional, as would be expected of an epicedium. As Anna Linton notes, the occasion of death is not the time to be playful or experimental (Linton 27). It is rather an occasion when the writer would want the full

64 A welcoming poem upon the arrival of Prince Ernst von Croy in Greifswald, which appeared on September 2, 1634.

65 "Fretowische Fröligkeit" (Schwarz I: 8) is dated December 8, 1633.

attention of the reader to be on the event itself, and would want to write an appropriately solemn work in keeping with the gravity of the situation.

The three sections of a traditional epicedium appear in the following order: *lamentatio, laudatio* and *consolatio*. The first twelve lines are Schwarz's address to Schöner. The lament begins in this section. She illustrates his suffering by evoking his hair being turned gray through suffering, and saying that he has to partake of "ein gar zu bitter Trunck" (Schwarz I: 90). She then begins to comfort him by saying that his own suffering, while painful, is less severe than that of the children and that it will someday end. "[Z]war ewrer Liebsten Todt will aus den Augen euch woll heuffig Zehren pressen/ doch durch der Zeiten rast könt ihr noch leicht vergessen die Noht/ die itzt euch kränckt/ der Schmertz ist groß und viel/ kan fast nicht größer seyn/ doch hat er noch ein Ziel" (Schwarz I: 90). With this introduction, Schöner's own pain and loss are cast opposite that of his children, and this dialectic operates throughout the rest of the poem. This structure strengthens the poem and creates narrative tension. She also creates tension by alternating repeatedly between lamentation and comfort, bringing both back again and again in waves.

While the preamble, addressed to Schöner, consists of more than 50% comfort, the next section, devoted to the children, is structured differently. In the next fifteen lines she begins a general lament for the plight of the children. Drawing on traditional *topoi*, she creates an analogy of the children as trees that have lost their roots and their best and only comfort. At this point she includes herself as one of those who has had a similar experience, and claims that only she and other children who have been similarly deprived of their mother can possibly understand their suffering. "Wer kan dis besser sagen/ als ich und die allein/ die auf demselben Wagen der Trost-beraubten stehn?" (Schwarz I: 90). This is a telling instance of clearly autobiographical information being used in a

rhetorically strategic manner to more evocatively and convincingly write about the topic. It is an example of the way life and art can intertwine in the early modern period, and the way in which Schwarz can bring her own voice and own experience to bear in her poetic works.

This lengthy lament is followed a mere five lines of comfort. She tells the children that God will help them. The neo-Stoic Christian ideal, which is definitive of the Baroque worldview, is first expressed at this time. "Doch weil es Gott also anitzo wollgefält/ so tröstet tröstet euch/." God's will must be accepted. This comfort sounds a bit hollow, because she immediately begins lamenting the plight of the children again. It is as though she suddenly realizes the pain is too much and she begins to concretely and visually depict the children's and household's suffering. The following 28 lines consist of a *iacturae demonstratio* and depict the suffering of the children specifically, followed by 32 lines in which she discusses the problems that appear in the household once the mother's guiding hand is gone. This poem in this way also serves as a demonstration of the value of the wife and mother and her function within the home in the early modern period. It demonstrates the central importance of a wife in the running of the household, and in ensuring that food and drink would be available to those who need it. She also says that it is the mother who brings comfort to children and that without her they are lost.

Following her lament and the demonstration of loss, *iacturae demonstratio*, which corresponds to half of the poem, she begins the praise, *laudatio*, of Schöner's wife. She discusses the virtues and good deeds of his wife. Following this section the next five and a half lines call the survivors to humbly and quietly accept God's will and patiently accept the loss. This is a conventional neo-Stoic call to moderation of emotion and the avoidance of extreme grief (Linton 16). She also reminds the listeners that they each must someday, sooner or later, walk along the same path, an iteration of the conventional

memento mori which marked so many works in this period, when the aspect of death was so clearly present and prevalent. The *memento mori* trope figured not only in the literature, but also in the art and architecture of the period. It is often depicted as the "dance of death," which shows death cavorting with people from all walks of life, demonstrating that he will come for young and old, rich and poor, virtuous and sinful, regardless of position in society. In this poem, the reference is to the "Rey" in which we must all dance with "ungeseumten Füssen," unbound feet.

> [...] Doch weil die Lieb und Huldt
> Mit ihr dann hin schon ist/ so heißt es nur Gedult.
> Kein weinen weckt sie auff/ gedencket/ daß wir müssen
> Noch all en diese Rey/ mit ungeseumten Füssen.
> Zwey Pforten hat die Welt/ das Kugel-runde Hauß/
> Die eine schluckt uns ein/ die ander wirft uns aus.

The final two lines are particularly noteworthy. At first they appear incongruent, a simple tag added to the rest of the poem that has to do with death, but does not seem to fit in this spot. Yet they play a part in the dialectal method. Instead of placing father and children across from one another again, she uses a typical topos, the image of the two gates to the earth, the beginning and end of life, in order to create a pointed dialectic at the very end. The two gates are the mother's womb and the dark earth of the grave. The mother is the door through which they enter, and it is precisely she who has just exited through the other door, showing them the path they must all tread.

Auff Herrn J. Jägers Haußfrauen Seel. Absterben

This poem is dedicated to J. Jäger's first wife, who probably died in 1635, when Sibylle Schwarz was fourteen years of age. This death likewise took place only a few

years after Schwarz lost her own mother, and the depiction of the loss of a mother and wife is likely informed by Schwarz's own experiences. It the only other epicedium dedicated to the death of a woman. In this poem she shifts narrative voice, occasionally speaking in her own voice but also ventriloquizing Jäger and thus allowing him to voice his own lament. This was a conventional device used by poets to increase the intensity of the *iacturae demonstratio*, in this way allowing the reader to experience the loss with the one who has suffered the most. Some poets also used the voices of those who had recently departed, allowing them to speak from the grave or from the comforts of heaven to give comfort to those left behind (Linton 34).

In *Der lange Weg zur Mündigkeit*, Barbara Becker-Cantarino makes note of the poem Gerlach wrote underneath the copperplate portrait preceding the second volume.

Was mir der Himmel hat an Schönheit nicht gegeben
Das hat ersetzt Verstand und Tugend in meim Leben;
Ich stelt ein'n guhten Brief, schrib eine schöne Hand,
Macht' einen reinen Vers Haußhalten war bekant
Mihr auf das allerbäst; eß must den Tod verdrießen
Drum hab ich vor der Zeit mein Leben enden müßen
Zu Unsterblichen Ehren gesetztet
Vohn
M. Samuel Gerlach

Barbara Becker-Cantarino writes that, in writing this description in the first person, Gerlach assumes the voice of this woman, Sibylle Schwarz, as would be common in a patriarchal society. It is not unconventional for Gerlach to assume the voice of Schwarz, but it does seem strange that he then includes his own name beneath the epitaph. Schwarz likewise frequently uses the male voice in her poetry. This demonstrates her ability to

follow convention and also her facility with both the male and female voice. However, there is also the sense that she plays with the convention and allows ambiguity to creep in for the reader, who is uncertain as to the gender of the lyric "Ich" in some of her works, when it is unclear if she is speaking as herself or in the voice of another.

By writing sections of the poem in the first person from the point-of-view of Jäger, Schwarz allows him to express his suffering, in this way making it more immediate from the perspective of the reader or listener, and heightening the rhetorical impact of the poem. The contrast with the previous poem is clear and obvious. In the first, she identifies herself as one of those who has also lost a mother. But in this poem she begins: "Ich hör/ es sey groß Leiden/ sich lieben und sich scheiden/" [I hear that it is great suffering to love and depart from one another] (Schwarz I: 24). The verb construction clearly shows that she herself had not yet experienced that kind of loss. Although she is clearly familiar with loss in general, she herself had not lost a romantic partner. In expressing her loss she does not identify with Jäger, just as she did not identify with Schöner in the previous poem. This poem contains the three typical sections of an Epicedium, although the praise section is contained in the *iacturae demonstratio* showing the extent of the loss. Jäger's wife is described as his comfort and his light.

The comfort section again invoked the typical neo-Stoic ideal of patience in the face of suffering and the memento mori. Schwarz dialectically opposes heaven and earth and advises those who remain behind to not mourn or grieve overlong, because they will also soon take this path, and because heaven is a much better place to be.

The contrast between the two poems, in which she writes to men concerning the loss of their wives is remarkable. In one case there were children who had lost their mother, and so she was able to bring her own experience to bear to fully explore the depth of suffering and loss experienced by that family. In the next, it is the loss of a wife

and, while she is also able to draw on personal experience to depict this loss, the severity of emotion present in the poem in which the children lost a mother is much reduced. If these two poems are then contrasted to the poems written to Christina von Sehbach upon the death of her husband, the differences are even more striking. The death of a husband could have a dramatic and profoundly upsetting effect on a woman. It meant not only the loss of her life partner and dear friend, but also the loss of her means of material and financial support. A number of woman, including Anna Ovena Hoyers and Catharina Regina von Greiffenberg, depict the life of a widow as the worst possible life, replete with incredible difficulties, especially if there were young children for whom they need to care. It is therefore striking that Schwarz depicts the loss of a woman or a mother in much more clear, concrete terms. It could be that it is possible for her to express felt female emotion in those poems that come closest to her own experience, and that we can therefore read the stronger emotion depicted in the poems on the loss of women as reflective of the pain and loss that Schwarz herself felt. It would seem natural for her to identify with women in every situation, but the Vorbusch poems make it clear that she does feel it as necessary to include the level of *lamentatio* or *iacturae demonstratio* in the Vorbusch poems as in the two on the loss of a wife. In cases when the mother or wife is lost, she strongly represents the loss suffered by the husband and children, using concrete, daily examples to show that the empty space left by the woman's presence is one that cannot be filled. This is contrary to the situation for women in the time period. Loss of a husband meant loss of status and could in many cases mean loss of physical sustenance as well. Gluckl von Hameln constantly mourns her fate as a widow, and Anna Ovena Hoyers also suffered difficulty once her husband was gone, although this also meant she was able to write. For a woman of independent means, the loss of a husband was not as disruptive to her livelihood, but he was still a source of social standing. Indeed, it was in

their symbiotic nature as husband and wife, heads of the household, that both the man and woman attained social standing, as Heide Wunder notes (Wunder 27).

Schwarz depicted the daily activities of the woman and thus demonstrated her value to the household. "Hier pflag sie bei mir sitzen" (This is where she tended to sit with me) "Sie würde Dich zu Tische bringen" (She would bring you to table). She is the only comforter of the children, the one who taught them virtue and raised them in righteousness. Perhaps it is here that Schwarz's own loss is best expressed, since we have no extant poems concerning her mother. Of course, it is also perhaps an expression of her oft-stated notion that the survivors should not spend too much time mourning their loss, since they, too, would someday walk that path and join their loved one in a much better place.

Auff Herrn Johann[66] Schöners/ etc. Kinds Absterben

This poem is dedicated to the death of Johann Schöner's daughter Ilse, who died on September 27, 1637 (Schwarz I: 50, II, "Nachschrift an den Leser"). It is the third of the three epicedia written by Schwarz upon the death of a woman. As was common in this period for Epicedia on the death of a child, it contained only a *consolatio* section. Anna Linton notes that the other two parts typical of the Epicedium were not always appropriate for the death of a child, especially one who died very young (Linton 95). The *laudatio* section would have been difficult for someone who had not had the opportunity to achieve much in life, and the *lamentatio* or *iacturae demonstratio* could have caused further suffering for parents who had recently lost a child and might have been experiencing what, for the time period would be considered excessive grief (Linton 95).

66 In the list of Errata Gerlach included at the end of the second volume, he notes that "Johann" should replace "N." (Schwarz II: "Nachschrift an den Leser").

As noted previously, many writers advocated moderation of emotion in an effort to maintain a Stoic demeanor in the face of the vicissitudes of life and in the hopes that this would be pleasing to God and a demonstration that one was obedient to and accepting of divine will.

This epicedium is the shortest of all the funerary poems, consisting of only six six-line stanzas. The first two lines of each stanza are alexandrine couplets and the other four consist of three iambic feet and relate to each other by cross-rhyme. They would together also form an alexandrine line, but by separating each alexandrine into two halves and placing these on separate lines, she further emphasizes the dichotomy in the text. Schwarz comforts Schöner by emphasizing that this world is one of suffering and that his child has received the better lot by quickly moving from this world to the next. She uses conventional imagery when she compares life in earth with a voyage over a stormy, inconstant sea. The earlier one reaches safe harbor, the better. Unlike many poems of this period, she does not further point out that the child, had it lived longer, might have become sinful and caused her father grief. Rather, it is enough to say that she has arrived in the safe harbor of heaven, and is protected from the suffering of this world. As we have seen in other of Schwarz's work, the suffering of the Thirty Years War was particularly present and prevalent to the people of Greifswald and the surrounding region, which was beleaguered first by the Catholic Imperial troops under the command of Wallenstein and then by their saviors, the Protestant Swedish troops, who caused further suffering.

Most of the imagery in the text relates to a voyage by ship and the necessity for good winds and the quick attainment of a safe harbor. These would have been familiar to Schwarz, who lived in a Hanseatic city located near the Baltic Sea. She herself occasionally undertook river voyages, and would also have been familiar with the needs

of the merchants and sailors who relied on good winds, safe passage, and safe harbors to ensure both their lives and livelihoods. She uses this imagery effectively to provide comfort and solace to a father who has recently lost his dear child. In the final few lines of the work, she emphasizes that the child is in a better place, because those who have remained in the world are continuing to suffer. In this verse the imagery of waves is used to indicate the vicissitudes of a difficult life, which tosses people to and fro, without any control.

> Darümb Herr Schöner günt dem Kindlein seine Lust/
> Es ist genug das uns der Welt Müh ist bewust/
> Wir haben auff den Wellen
> Und auff des Lebens Seh/
> Mehr als zu viel Gesellen/
> Die ruffen: Ich vergeh! (Schwarz I: 51)

Three Poems on the Death of Alexander von Vorbusch

The only woman outside of her family and close circle of friends to whom Schwarz directed poems by name was Christina Maria von Sehbach. Married to an officer in the Swedish forces and a member of the nobility, Schwarz addressed Sehbach in such a manner as befits her rank and position. It appears that Schwarz may have approached Sehbach to be a patroness or protector for her poetry. The first three poems addressed to Sehbach relate to the injury and death of her husband. The fourth and final poem was one of Schwarz's poems on friendship, which she sent to Sehbach, addressing her as "Die Wohledelgebohrne etc. Frau/ Christina Maria vohn Sehbach etc. des Weil. Hochedlen etc. Herrn Alexander vohn Vorbuschen der Cron Schweden Obersten etc. hinterlassene Wittwe" (Schwarz II: N4r). She addressed Sehbach with the personal

pronoun „Sie“ and the possessive pronoun „Ihr“ in the letter preceding the poem. It is in this letter that Schwarz asks Sehbach to accept her work as a humble gift.

> Ihr Tugend woll Ihr dieses mein gering=gültiges Papyrnes Geschencklein zur Beliebung dienen lassen/ massen ich dafür keine grössere Wiedergeltung erlangen könte/ als wan daßelbe nuhr vohn Ihr mit guhtem Gesichte durchgelesen/ und vohr den Augen der Lastermäuler/ die alles tadeln zwahr/ aber wenig nachthun können/ hernach verstocket und verdecket würde/ darümb ich eß hiemit in tieffester Demuht zu Ihren Füßen herunter geworffen haben will“ (Schwarz II: O1r).

This is in contrast to Samuel Gerlach, whom she addressed in letters using the third person (*er*/ *ihm*/ *seine*, etc.) and Judith Tanck, whom she addressed in poems with the pronoun “*du*.” There is another poem written to a woman of high rank upon her arrival in Greifswald. However, because the woman is not identified by rank, it is not possible to determine definitively if that work was also dedicated to Sehbach, although it is certainly possible. There is no mention throughout the work or in the letters provided by Gerlach to any other person who might also be the unnamed woman in “Auff die langgewündschte Freudenreiche Ankunfft der HochEdlen und Wolgebornen Frauen/ Frauen /etc.” (Schwarz I: lxx).

The three poems written upon the injury and death of Sehbach’s husband are “An Christina Maria von Seebach/ etc. Weiland/ etc. Herrn Alexanders von Forbusch/ etc. Obersten/ etc. Hertzgeliebte Gemahlin/ als die traurige Zeitung kam: dieser ihr Liebster sey gestorben” (Schwarz I: lxxvii); “Ein zum andern mahl überschickte Trost=Gedichte Eben an Sie. Als die traurige Zeitung/ leider! allzuwahr war“ (Schwarz I: lxxxi) and “Auff solchen früzeitigen Todtes-Fall/ etc. Hochgedachten Herrn Alexander von Vorbuschen/ Wohlbestalten Obristen/ etc. der Kron Schweden“ (Schwarz I: lxxxv).

The first of the three poems was written upon Sehbach receiving a letter that her husband had fallen in battle and might have died. There is a certain ambiguity between the title of the poem, which indicates that Vorbusch had died, and the content, which indicates that Frau von Sehbach heard that he had fallen, but that there had not been certain evidence of his death. The initial four lines are as follows:

Seid her/ O Edle Fraw/ daß Fama angekommen/
Von der ihr habt den Todt des LIebesten vernommen/
Der doch vielleicht noch lebt/ und zwar in Fröligkeit/
Habt ihr in steter Angst verschlossen ewre Zeit. (Schwarz I: lxxviii)

Schwarz continues by writing that Sehbach cannot necessarily trust what she has read, and that she should wait for a more certain message. Schwarz calls upon Sehbach to moderate her emotion throughout this poem and thereby demonstrate her *Tugend*. She writes that in this way Sehbach can demonstrate her faithfulness and trust in God. The poem also provides evidence of the extent to which the loss of a husband could affect a woman, when she describes him as the "Schirm und Schild" of Sehbach (Schwarz I: xxix). She writes that, if Sehbach moderates her sadness as she waits for further news, she will be rewarded by joy and a renewal of love upon the return of her husband.

So groß als itzt die Angst und Traurigkeit zu schetzen/
So groß und grösser wird die Lust und das Ergetzen
hernach auch bey euch sein/ wenn ewer Schirm und Schild
Mit Glücke widerkomt/ und ewer Elend stillt;
Da wird die Liebe neu/ und nocht viel grösser werden /
Die innerliche Lust/ die lieblichen Geberden /
Durch wohlverwahrte Trew noch mehr voll Freunden seyn/ (Schwarz I: lxxix)

Schwarz continues to call for patience, using the image of Penelope, wife of Odysseus, as an example of a woman who continued to wait for the return of her husband, even after all others had given up hope, and who was rewarded by his return after twenty years (Schwarz I: lxxx). As in many of her works, Schwarz also draws attention to herself and the act of writing in this work. She transitions from writing about Penelope, to mentioning that there are many others who have been immortalized by the pen, and that Schwarz would be honored to also be able to immortalize Sehbach herself in such a way. Although this sentiment flows well from the image of Penelope, it does not seem to fit the wider purpose of the poem itself, and it seems strange that Schwarz would dedicate so many lines to a discussion of her craft. Again, though, we are faced with a young poet who is always conscious of her role, but for whom it also sometimes intrudes itself into the works themselves.

> Verzeiht mir/ Edle Fraw/ das ich so kühne bin/
> Und durch der Feder Lust darff trösten euren Sinn.
> Ich aber wollte mich für höchst gelücklich schetzen/
> Wenn diß mein schlechtes Werck sie könnte doch ergetzen/
> Und euch in etwas nur benehmen euer Leid/
> Das/ wo es nichtes bricht/ doch brechen wird die Zeit;
> Was soll ich aber ihr für einen Wundsch denn geben?
> Ich wündsche nichtes sonst als daß sie mag erleben/
> Mit Freuden und Gedult/ den hochgewündschten Tag/
> An dem sie ihren Trost noch wieder sehen mag. (Schwarz I: lxxxi)

The second poem also relates to a message received by Sehbach, in this case the confirmation that her husband had indeed died of his wounds after he fell in battle. The imagery in this poem relates to the *ars moriendi,* the sense of "dying well" and in it

Schwarz contrasts those who die suddenly without the opportunity to confess their sins with those who are able to make their final confession before dying and receive final absolution. This is appropriate, because Vorbusch was wounded in battle but died some point later of those wounds, possibly granting him time to prepare for death. This poem offers comfort and solace to the widow by reminding her that she and her husband will be together in heaven. In this second poem Schwarz again foregrounds poetry and her desire to write as a gift to Sehbach.

> Der Trost/ den/ Edle Frau/ ich negsten euch gegeben/
> Ist nunmehr gantz dahin/ mein wündschen auch daneben
> Das hertzlich war gemeint/ kann nunmehr nicht geschehn/
> Drüm wil ich mich itzund was anders unterstehn.
> Verzeiht mir aber auch/ daß ich euch darff verehren
> Mit meiner Poesey/ die nichtes will begehren/
> Als nur gelesen seyn/ auch mehr ist würdig nicht/
> Doch seht sie gnädig an/ ob ihr schon viel gebricht. (Schwarz I: lxxxi)

She follows with a *consolatio* to the widow, by reminding her that she is not alone in her suffering, and that all must die. Schwarz continues that those who have crossed over and have put pain behind them are to be counted more blessed than those who still suffer. This section then transitions to one in which she describes the methods of dying, mentioning both the musket ball and the sword as ways of being killed on the battlefield. In spite of the gruesome imagery, Schwarz comforts the widow by reminding her that her husband, her "Trost" (comforter), was able to make peace with the divine, unlike those struck down who die immediately. In a lengthy image, she describes the man on his bed, able to say prayers and make peace for his soul, falling asleep peacefully. Angels are there to guide his way, and the devil stands to the side and must tear out his hair in

frustration (Schwarz I: lxxxiii). This section is then followed by the comfort that her husband is in a far better place.

> Das rechte Vaterland ist hier auff Erden nicht/
> Hier ist die Finsternuß/ dort ist das recht Licht.
> Hier/ hier ist Krieg und Streit; Dort/ dort ist Fried und Siegen
> Hier steht die falche List/ dort muß sie unterliegen/
> Hier ist der Laster Hauß/ dort Tugend wohl bekandt/
> Hier ist die Pillgramschaft/ dort is das Vaterlandt. (Schwarz I: lxxxiii)

Schwarz uses the words "hier" and "dort" to contrast the fallen, mortal world and heavenly eternity. Life on earth is marked by darkness, war, deception and vice. It is the place of pilgrimage, rather than the Christian's true home or "Vaterland." Heaven, in contrast, is the place of light, peace, victory over deception, and virtue.

These poems use conventional *topoi* to address the widow, thereby demonstrating that Schwarz was able to follow poetic conventions. Emphasizing the virtue of patience and acceptance in the face of suffering, she calls upon the widow not to mourn or lament, because her beloved was already in heaven, where there are neither tears nor suffering. In a sequence of dialectical oppositions evoking the *diesseits-jenseits* motif, she compares earth and heaven. The earth is full of pain, hatred, suffering, tears, death and pestilence, but heaven is nothing but peace and joy. She also writes that while God allows his dearest ones to experience suffering and pain here, he also comforts them. God is "der Allerliebste," the dearest, in this terminology a substitute for her lost husband. In a fascinating reversal of the typical Baroque depiction of suffering as punishment for sins, which Schwarz frequently mentions in connection with the war and the suffering of the land, she tells the grieving widow that not all suffering is punishment. There is simply suffering on earth because it is the world of suffering. It is in its nature. For this reason,

one should patiently accept suffering and not mourn or cry too much, because that cannot possibly return her love to her and she should also not wish it upon him to be brought back to this place of suffering.

The third and final poem in the group of Vorbusch poems is an Epicedium written in honor of Alexander von Vorbusch. It is written in twelve six-line Romanzenvers stanzas. The imagery relates to Vorbusch's status as a military man. In the first two stanzas, Mars appears on Helicon and asks if they (he is addressing the lyric "Ich" and those with her) have written songs to immortalize those who have fallen in battle. He is saddened, because he has lost one of his own. In stanzas three through five, he calls on Germany to bemoan the loss of its heroes and particularly the loss of the great man, Alexander von Vorbusch. In the sixth stanzas he asks the Muses to immortalize Vorbusch with their song, to which the lyric "Ich" responds, "Bald sprach ich/ ich wil ihm geben/ // Durch der Feder Macht/ das Leben" (Schwarz I: lxxxvii). In the following stanzas she asks the Muses to help her find where the hero might be, and she discovers him in the stars with Phoebus, where he can never die. Because he is safe from death, she addresses his widow and asks her to stop crying for him. The poem ends with a reminder that he is still living in the place where none die, and that while virtue must die in this life, it lives in the next.

11.

Drum/ O Edle Frawe/ gebet
Euch nur mit Gedult darein/
Weil derselbe ewig lebet/
Den ihr meinet todt zu sein;
Er ist todt und lebt doch immer
Da/ da/ wo man stirbet nimmer.

12.

Nemt diß Lied/ das gut gemeinet/
Doch sich nicht für tüchtig helt/
Zwar die Warheit nicht verneinet/
Und sagt/ daß in dieser Welt
Tugend gute Nacht muß geben/
Aber doch in jener Leben. (Schwarz I: lxxxvii – lxxxviii)

Although Schwarz does not use the *iacturae demonstratio* to the same extent in her poems to Sehbach as she does when lamenting the deaths of two women, wives and mothers, she nonetheless makes Sehbach's loss clear. Her husband was her comforter and her protector. As Olwen Hufton makes clear in the chapter on widowhood, although a widow could command a certain autonomy after the death of her husband, she was almost invariably less wealthy after his passing, which could place the woman in a difficult situation (Hufton 232). In the case of Sehbach, it is clear that she is not originally from Greifswald, so she might not have had any other family in the area to help her and this could have made things difficult for her, in spite of her exalted station.

Als H.M.A.C. so früzeitig mit Todt abgangen

This poem also has as its theme the death of a prominent man, although in this case it is one from Schwarz's personal environment, Alexander Christian. He was one of the friends of her father, a professor at the university and a leading town citizen. The poem is written in alexandrine rhymed couplets and divided into four-line stanzas. Death is accused of being a "bleicher Nimmersatt" (pale never-satisfied), a term she also uses to describe fleshly lust in other poems. A person who is never satisfied suffers from the deadly sin of gluttony.

The second stanza evokes the good deeds Christian did in the city of Greifswald. This forms both part of the praise of Christian and also the *iacturae demonstratio*, depiction of loss.

Ja billig klagen wir/ weil der mit dir muß reisen/
Der sonst zu trösten pflagk die Wittwen und die Weisen;
Der auch mit Wort und That uns allen tröstlich wahr/
Den tregt man für uns hin auff einer schwarzen Bahr.

The final line concretizes the image of death with the visual representation of Christian being carried out on a black board. The *memento mori* continues and is especially strong in the eighteenth verse, where she reminds the listeners that all will die:

Es ist der alte Bundt: O Mensche du must sterben/
Worüm bemühstu dich viel Güter zu erwerben?
Für alle deine Müh ist letzlich dan genug
Ein daumendickes Brett/ ein stücke leinen Tuch.

Schwarz notes here that death is the final result for each person and that at the end we will have nothing but a board and a piece of linen. This is a conventional trope in the *memento mori* motif, and is also in keeping with the call to moderate emotion and accept fate with equanimity.

Two Poems on the Death of Duke Bogislav XIV

Schwarz wrote two poems upon the death of Duke Bogislav XIV, last of the Pomeranian Dukes. After his death the region of Pomerania became a pawn in the larger struggle for land and power between the Kingdom of Sweden and the Elector of Brandenburg. The issue was not settled until the eighteenth century. The two epicedia are very different in form and function. The one written immediately following the death of

the Duke and in the first instance from a desire to mourn his passing appears in the second volume of Schwarz's poetry (Schwarz II: F1r). The second is dedicated to Samuel Gerlach on the occasion of his having called her the tenth Muse (Schwarz I: 10). It includes a lengthy section on the role of the poet and poetry. Because of its importance to Gerlach and to her oeuvre, it was given a prominent position in the collection and appears as the second poem of the first volume, immediately following "Ein Gesang Wider den Neidt" (Schwarz I: 6). Both epicedia demonstrate her skill as a poet and show her high level of skill and learning.

The two poems on the death of her prince are remarkable, because she does not use the usual motifs. These poems are less life-denying than the others, but express her great frustration and loss, as well as the chaos that is caused by the death of a ruler. But this chaos is the natural state of the world, which the poet strives to overcome. "In diesen strengen Formen[67], ja durch die Strenge dieser Form, spricht sich das innerste Anliegen des Dichters aus, die Überwindung des Chaos der Welt durch den ordnenden mikrokosmischen Geist" (Trunz 35). The prince was the father and protector of the people, who protected them from war.

It is further striking how she expresses her poetic self-understanding in the second of the two poems to her prince, as she does in the first poem to Sehbach and several other occasional poems. It underscores the high place poetry held for her, as well as its function in society as a guide to a better world.

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67 Trunz is here referring to the strict forms employed traditionally in the Baroque, such as the use of Alexandrines, the sonnet, and the other rhetorical and stylistic devices common in the period. Erich Trunz, *Weltbild und Dichtung im deutschen Barock* (München: Beck, 1992) 35.

Auf ihres Seeligsten und letzten Landes-Fürsten Trauer-Gesang

The first epicedium to Duke Bogislav is written in the form of a Pindaric ode. The term ode in the seventeenth century could refer either to a strophic song or to the more formal Pindaric ode, based on the work of the Latin poet Pindarus (Hess 420). The form of a Pindaric ode was described by Opitz in Chapter VII of the *Buch von der deutschen Poeterey*, in which he included two examples of this form (Opitz 62-3). According to Opitz's description, each section of a Pindaric ode consists of three parts: the Strophe, Antistrophe and Epode (Opitz 62). This tripartite structure facilitates the presentation of an argument, its counter-argument, and a synthesis of the two. The poet is free to construct the Strophe, as far as meter and rhyme scheme are concerned, however she wishes, but the Antistrophe takes its rhyme and metrical scheme from the Strophe (Opitz 62). The poet is again free to write the first Epode in whatever form she chooses (Opitz 62). If the poet chooses to add more triads, then she must follow the first in everything, in other words, both meter and rhyme scheme must match that of the first triad (Opitz 62). The first triad sets the pattern followed by each subsequent triad.

Martin Opitz included a Pindaric Ode in chapter seven of the *Buch von der deutschen Poeterey*, which seems to have been the formal model Schwarz used in the creation of her own Pindaric Ode (Opitz 63). He mentions using this form for an epithalamium, and also "auff absterben eines vornemen vom adel" [upon the death of a prominent man of the nobility] (Opitz 63). The first Pindaric ode provided as a model in this chapter is dedicated to Opitz's "gelehrtesten Freundes" [most learned friend] Bernhard Wilhelm Nüssler and is included to demonstrate a highly learned form of poetry (Opitz 63). Both the Strophe and Antistrophe consist of sixteen lines, and the rhyme scheme places these in two groups of eight as follows: aabbcddc, eeffghhg. In the Epode he changes from an iambic to a trochaic meter, although he continues to use four

metric feet in each line. The Epode consists of only twelve lines, but these are again divided into two groups by means of the rhyme scheme: abbacc, ddeffe. Rather than repeating, as occurs in the strophe and Antistrophe, the rhyme scheme in the second half of the Epode is a mirror image of that in the first half. Schwarz's Pindaric ode formally conforms to her model in every respect: Strophe and Antistrophe each consist of sixteen lines, each of which is made up of four iambic feet. The Epode is twelve lines of four trochaic feet each. The rhyme scheme which both Strophe and Antistrophe follow is aabbcddc eeffghhg. The Epode uses the rhyme scheme abbacc, ddeffe. She chose a form associated with the highest level of learning in which to mourn the loss of the "Landesvater" [father of the land] (Schwarz II: F1r). In this respect she is following the lead of her model Opitz, but she is also demonstrating her own high level of skill by attempting this form.

The first epicedium on the death of Bogislav XIV is marked by strong images of mourning (Schwarz II: F1r). The whole land is engulfed in tears, "ein Thränen-See" and cannot survive without the protection of the Prince. This affirms the strong role of the ruler to determine the quality of life within the lands he ruled, a result in part of the loss of centralized power of the Emperor to the individual princes and rulers that took place over the course of the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries (Hughes 2 – 9). Bogislav XIV was the last of the Pomeranian Dukes and left no male heirs. The natural inheritance would have put Pomerania under the lordship of the Elector of Brandenburg, but the Swedes, who occupied the entire area at that point, were not willing to give up Pomerania. In the Westphalian Peace Accord, the eastern portions of Pomerania were assigned to the Hohenzollerns in Brandenburg, but the western portion, including Greifswald, was remitted to the Swedish crown. This did not change until the early

eighteenth century, when the Prussian rulers were finally able to establish control over all of Pomerania (Hughes 114).

Schwarz's belief that poetry is a figurative path to eternal life comes to expression in the second-to-last verse, when she calls upon Martin Opitz to demonstrate the power in his pen and take up the cry of the people and thereby give the Duke immortality. This was a conventional topos and in the elegiac Ode on the death of a friend he included in the *Poëterey* (Opitz 67), Opitz uses the same imagery:

> Sonderlich soll jhm sein leben
> Auff das newe wiedergeben
> Der Poeten weise handt. (Opitz 67)

Schwarz drew upon the examples provided by Opitz, but in this case she expresses this idea in a much stronger fashion:

> Und unterdessen lebt doch hier/
> Der Edle Prinz/ des Landes Zier
> Den der Poëten kluge Hand
> Ist stärker/ als des Todtes Band;
> Kom/ kom/ mein Opitz/ las doch sehen/
> Was deine kluge Feder kan;
> Nim dich des Landes Noht ietzt an/

By claiming that the poet's art is stronger than death, she equates it with the Creator and the creative impulse. The innovation on the part of Schwarz is not that she makes use of this conventional idea, but rather that this is a way she demonstrates her membership in the confraternity of poets, because she herself is enacting the poem on behalf of the Prince. Another significant factor in this poem is Schwarz's address to Opitz. Rather than the more using the personal pronouns "ihr" and "euch," as she typically does to directly

address men in her work, she instead uses the second person singular informal pronoun "du" and the possessive adjective "dein." In other poems, when she addresses men, especially those she knows, even those who are also poets, she addresses them with the pronoun "Ihr" as a sign of respect. She also uses this form of address with Sehbach, who is from a higher class. The use of this personal pronoun does not indicate intimacy of personal acquaintance with Opitz. Rather, he stands symbolically as the representative of all poets. She calls upon the prototypical "German" poet to take up for the suffering land and the suffering people of Pomerania.

Schwarz constructed this Pindaric ode in three sections. The first Strophe is a section of *lamentatio,* calling on the people to bewail the loss of their Prince and protector. The Antistrophe that follows is a *iacturae demonstratio*, in which the suffering of the land is shown symbolically by the suffering of the figures associated with poetry: Apollo and the Muses. These lay down their instruments and replace the laurel wreath with a wreath of cypress. The Epode is a neo-Stoic, Christian call for moderation of emotion. The second Strophe and Antistrophe then renew the *lamentatio* and *iacturae demonstratio*, followed again by an Epode in which they poet calls for moderation of emotion. The people are called upon to moderate their emotion, because they should conform themselves to the will of God (Schwarz II: F2v). In the final section, the Strophe expresses submission to divine will and trust that God will protect those who pray earnestly to him. This is then followed by a consolation in the third Antistrophe, in which the poet promises that the Prince is not dead, because the work of the poet grants him eternal life. The third Epode concludes the poem with a demonstration of the joy and rejoicing in heaven, seeing the Prince in the company of other heroes and as one of the constellations in the sky, there to lead the people to their proper and true home (Schwarz II: F3r).

Auf Ihres Landesfürsten Tod/ an M.S.G. als Er Sie in einem überschickten Gedichte die zehende Musen genennet

The second epicedium written upon the death of Bogislav XIV also appeared in 1637, not long after the Duke's death on March 10th of that year (Schwarz I: x). As noted above, this poem serves the function of both an epicedium and also as a vehicle to honor Samuel Gerlach and thank him for the high honor he showed to her by calling her the tenth Muse (Schwarz I: x). Because it is a poem created in honor of her teacher and mentor, it is written to demonstrate her skill as a poet. According to the title of the poem, Gerlach had written a letter to Schwarz in which he called her the tenth Muse, which is a common epithet applied to young women writers. She was also frequently called the eleventh Sibyl, in reference to her name. In the opening engraving, she is identified as the German Sibyl and surrounded by images of the ten other Sibyls, the Persian, Lybian, Delphic, Cimmerian, Erythraean, Samian, Cumaean, Hellespontine, Phrygian, and Tiburtine Sibyls. In the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, the Classical Sibyls were held in high regard as "good women" and extraordinary women were sometimes given the title of Sibyl (Malay 97). Although the number of Sibyls has historically been somewhat fluid, the most commonly accepted number in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was ten, based on the list provided by Varros (Malay 97).

In addition to the typical sections of mourning and comfort in an Epicedium, she includes a large section devoted to her poetic self-conscious and reflects on the act of writing. Her response to being called the Tenth Muse is that she is actually the maids' maid of the Muses, and thus, while attached to them, three steps removed. This is a rhetorical device of extreme humility. In this case, it is a uniquely female rhetorical device. If a man were to describe himself thus, "Der Musen Mägde Magd" it would

sound odd, although male poets could describe themselves as subject to the muses, "Den Musen untertan," or the sons of the muses, "Musen Söhne."

Following this description of herself, she goes on to claim that she could not possibly quit her lyre, representing poetry, because it is part of her very nature to write. This is a striking claim for her to make, particularly in contrast to the assertion by Blackwell and Zantop that women in the eighteenth and nineteenth century never used that particular defense in order to justify their writing (31-32). Instead, they made the claims of usefulness to other women and the necessity to earn money (31-32). A seventeenth century poet, whether male or female, could not have possibly hoped to earn a living with poems. In Baroque thinking, a person's nature could be determined by the four humors, but it was also a result of the station to which one was born. Analogical thinking dictated that one born into the upper classes was also naturally inclined to be a member of the nobility, whereas one born to a farmer was naturally inclined to that state. A woman would thus be naturally inclined to fulfill her womanly duties. Writing poetry was, in this period, the domain of educated men. It came out of the Latin school culture and quickly came to fulfill a necessary social function. Women of the nobility came to be expected to be able to write a quick verse in German in order to suitably honor a personal occasion, especially the death of a family member or very important person. For a woman of the urban elites to claim for herself the same natural inclination of the male literati was not only unusual, but a deft and certain assertion of her rights.

In this poem Schwarz builds from the dangers of war which plague the land, through the heightening of the suffering that is caused by the loss of their great protector. He was the "Schirm," the "Beschützer," the "Landesvater." He was the source of peace and all that was good in Greifswald. Even the pantheon of gods, except of course Mars, mourned his passing. She describes the terrible situation for everyone. At this point she

reaches the climax of suffering and writes that it is now much worse for those who love poetry. There is no factual indication that Bogislav XIV was a particular friend of poets, but, as indicated above, Schwarz uses the rhetorical conceit in order to begin the main section of this poem, which is a defense of poetry. She stays with war imagery, describing "Neid" as leading his troops against poetry. As noted in Chapter 3, "Neid" is a term frequently employed by Schwarz as the embodiment of her detractors, not only those who believed that she should not write, but also also those who attacked poetry itself. This poem, while ostensibly written as an Epicedium, contains a statement of her poetological belief. This is in keeping with the purpose for which it was written, which is in honor of her mentor, Samuel Gerlach, who had called her one of the muses.

Schwarz continues that poetry will live on, in spite of its detractors. This is in keeping with the claim in the previous Ode that the subjects of poems live eternally because their name does not fade and is a recurring theme in Schwarz's work. Those who are sung about on the lyre will live forever. Not only that, but poetry itself will survive, and the poets as well. In an anaphoric chain she describes the effect of the lyre:

Sie ist das/ was den Sinn macht fliegend und entzückt/

Sie ist das werthe Pfandt/ das uns Apollo schickt;

Sie ist der Sprachen Ruhm/ die Tugendt aller Tugendt;

Sie ist der Künsten Kunst/ Sie ist die Zierd der Jugendt;

Another reason this poem does not fit the typical epicedia in her work is because it does not contain the typical opposition of heaven and hell and the call to the living to patiently await their end. Rather, she contrasts temporal suffering with poetry to evoke the opposite, rather than the joys of heaven. Poetry is praised as the highest good in life.

This poem consists of a general section of mourning or lament for the land that is being sorely punished by war. This suffering is realized in the suffering of the Muses, of

which Sibylle is also one, as the title indicates. Evoking Greece allows her to liken Greifswald to Troy, which fell once the Palladium had left (Schwarz I: xi). The main focus of this poem is the battle between "Neid" and the forces supporting poetry. This connects to the loss of Bogislav XIV, because he represents protection of the land and the people from outside forces. This is the ideal image of the "Landesvater" who protects and nurtures his people, rather than a reflection of what Bogislav himself, as a historical figure, was able to accomplish in his lifetime. This is a common theme in Schwarz's poems and in her letters to Gerlach, where she complains that "Neider" speak falsely of her and try to convince her to give up poetry. These may have been people who were truly jealous, as the term indicates, or those who felt that by writing she was not behaving in a seemly manner. "Neid" is also the embodiment of anyone who opposes poetry itself.

> Der Neid/ ihr ärgster Feind weiß gnugsahm fürzugeben/
> Dardurch der hohen Lust genomen wirt das Leben;
> Sein Heer ist gahr zu starck/ wer kan ihm wiederstehen?
> Doch wehr er noch so groß/ er muß doch untergehn/
> Die Leyer zwinget ihn/ sie dringt durch alle Sachen/
> Die einen Menschen Sonst gahr balt verderbet machen; (Schwarz I: xii)

For Schwarz, poetry, and the gifts that it brings, are related to heaven and heavenly grace. She personifies it and Fretow, the ideal place for poetic inspiration, as gifts from God and the sources of all the good in life. These provide Schwarz physical but also mental distance and protection from the violence she encountered in Greifswald, which suffered great losses during the Thirty Years War. "Neid" is depicted in this section as the enemy, that which removes joy from life and can only be conquered using the lyre, the embodiment of poetry. Poetry, for Schwarz, is clearly divinely ordained, because it overcomes all things that might cause a person's ruin, such as sin.

The poems on death provide insight into the ways in which Schwarz and Zeidler both remained within poetic norms, as was expected for a poem marking someone's death, and the ways in which they shifted prevailing norms to more appropriately express women's experiences when necessary. These poems also provide insight into daily life, particularly in the *iacturae demonstratio* Schwarz wrote upon the deaths of two women. The poems provide insight in the role of the wife and mother in the household. Schwarz also speaks directly of her own suffering at the loss of her mother in one of the poems, when she addresses the children and shares with them that she herself is one of those bereft of comfort, those who are "Trost-beraubt."

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

Was für micht ist zu hoch in Verse zuverfassen/
Dasselbe will ich den Gelehrten überlassen/
Ob mir war iederzeit die Tichterkunst beliebt/
Sind sie doch mehr denn ich in solcher Kunst geübt.
-Susanne Elisabeth Zeidler, "Verweigerung eines Reimgedichts"

On January 25, 1630 Sibylle Schwarz, a young girl of only nine years, lost her mother to the plague (Ziefle 9*). As she herself notes, the loss of a mother means the loss of a comforter and helper. It causes the entire household to be thrown into chaos, but the greatest suffering is borne by the children. Out of this chaos, Schwarz began to write poetry. The earliest poem included in her collection of poems is dated 1633, when Schwarz was twelve, although she clearly must have been writing before this time. She describes poetry as the source of virtue, of comfort, and of all that is good in life. She situates herself as a poet, and rewrites the conventions surrounding what a poet was understood to be in the seventeenth century to include herself. She appears to have created a "court" of poetry at the family's Fretow estate, with herself as the "*Hofmeisterin*." She revered Martin Opitz above all other German poets, although she appears to have read works by others supplied by both her brother, Friedrich, and her mentor, Samuel Gerlach. She took advantage of her family's position in the city of Greifswald and wrote occasional poems to the great men of the city. She included poems to a large number of friends, and also seems to have been attempting to secure the patronage of a noblewoman living in the city.

If the facts as they are related in her poems are true, it is an astounding achievement for a woman in the seventeenth century, much less one as young as she. It is of course also possible that the poems concerning Fretow and the court of poetry and friendship depicted there were not based on anything that existed. Even if this is the case, it is a remarkable achievement and demonstrates her talents as a poet and the fire of her imagination. The work, taken as a whole, reveals a passionate young woman who was driven by a desire to write that she could not deny, even in the face of external criticism.

This study demonstrates many of the types of writing available to women in the seventeenth century and the ways in which Sibylle Schwarz and Susanne Elisabeth Zeidler negotiated literary activity. It establishes the paradoxical nature of a woman both as muse but yet also as an author. It shows how these two women represented themselves to a larger audience, the people outside of their own families, and who made up that particular audience. It also demonstrates how female experience is reflected in their poems and which issues are neglected. Finally, it explores the use of voice in their poems, and what this use of voice signifies and symbolizes. The way in which Schwarz and Zeidler incorporate personal experience into their work anticipates the *Erlebnislyrik* of later centuries.

Schwarz writes in accordance with the Baroque ideals, dreams and fears that play out around her. In the midst of a terrible military occupation, she is torn between the denial of life and enjoyment of it. Both the *memento mori* and *carpe diem* impulses can be found at different points in her work. The epicedia and the poems concerning the vanity of the world and how she views it are full of *memento mori* and life-denying imagery. Here on earth one finds nothing but vanity. Values have been turned upside down and people consider “Tugend Laster” und “Laster Tugend.” These images are prevalent throughout her work, but particularly strong in two poems written to criticize

the nobility. In these she takes them to task for their snobbery and vain chasing after physical appearance and representation. She also criticizes the idea that money and noble parents can in anyway give nobility of soul to a person. True nobility, as Schwarz describes and envisions it, comes only from virtue. True virtue, in turn, is the first characteristic of a poet in Schwarz's worldview.

The poems that deal with her own life concretize experiences in Greifswald and Fretow to a certain extent, although she idealizes Fretow as the German Parnassus. Her voice speaks through the mannered and stylized motifs and themes. She is a child of the times and demonstrates this again and again in her poetry, but she also demonstrates the leeway available to a poet in the Baroque. The rhetorical *topoi* and conventions were guidelines rather than rigid commands. She demonstrated familiarity with the work of Opitz, Heinsius and Cats as well as the work of Gerlach and August Buchner. She was an accomplished poet who ably used the tools of the Baroque poet and turned them to her will, rather than being controlled by them.

This study also reviewed the different discursive strategies employed by Schwarz and Zeidler. Schwarz, writing in the first years following Opitz's vernacular poetics and the development of a vernacular poetry tradition informed by Classical humanist ideals, envisioned herself as a poet within the masculine poetic tradition. She viewed criticism primarily as attacks on poetry itself, rather than entirely a reflection of her gender. She did not perceive the limitation later clearly internalized by Zeidler that women should not write learned poetry. Instead, she wrote conventionally and within the tradition, but did also create a space for herself within it. Schwarz did this quite literally by idealizing her family's country home as a literary refuge and describing it as the *locus amoenus*, where writing could take place. Upon the destruction of Fretow by Swedish troops in 1637, she laments that the Muses have been cast from the German "Helikon." Further, that she was

able to speak both as a masculine and feminine first-person in her works, show her flexibility in self-expression, and the facility with which she moved between the male and female voice.

Zeidler, on the other hand, creates an entirely female discursive space. While she argues forcefully that women could write learned poetry if they were given the opportunity, she just as forcefully maintains that she herself does not write learned poetry. She leaves that in the purview of male poets, whom she deems more suitable for the task because of the greater amount of education they have received. This is also clearly a subversive stance on her part, as her insistence that women could be as good as men, if they were given the opportunity for an education. Her insistence that she herself is not a poet, but rather a lover of poetry, rests entirely on what she deems her own lack of erudition. Her poems themselves stand as counter-arguments. This is further demonstrated by that a number of her published works were deemed too learned to have been written by a woman.

Nonetheless, she appears to reside within an ambivalent state, and it is difficult to discern if her modesty is mere obfuscation and self-preservation by means of traditional modesty formulae, or if she has indeed internalized the injunctions against women being learned writers. The fact remains that, in contrast to Schwarz, she constructs a feminine discursive space, peopled almost entirely by female figures. She contrasts herself and other nymphs, who learn the art of poetry from Pallas with male poets, the "sons of muses," who learn at the feet of Phoebus or Apollo. This discursive space is emblematized in the title image, which shows Zeidler and a friend learning from Athena, enclosed within a domestic space, but surrounded by symbols of learning, writing and female occupation.

In the confusion of the Thirty Years War Schwarz gave written expression to her faith and clearly believed that the Christian should constantly be concerned with the state of his or her soul. A Christian should only strive for and seek God, because this is the only guarantee of eternal life in heaven. This element brings us back to Schwarz's self-representation as a poet. She believed that poetry was a source of much good in her, thus something that led her to a virtuous life, and by extension a way in which she works toward the reward of eternal life in heaven. This is most clearly expressed in the two poems she wrote immediately prior to her own death. She contracted dysentery and suffered for several days before finally succumbing to the illness. In spite of this, she wrote a wedding poem celebrating the long-awaited wedding of her sister Emarentia with Hermann Querin and she also wrote two poems in which she expressed the state of her soul and her willingness to die and leave the place of suffering that is the world. Although her expression of faith and conception of heaven and hell are entirely within the conventions of her time-period, it is nonetheless remarkable to have these as evidence of her final moments and the final statement she wished to make to the world.

Finally, I have endeavored to demonstrate how and why certain male relatives and friends supported literary activity by these young women, and how their work was viewed from the outside. Both women were strongly criticized for writing. Zeidler clearly felt that she faced criticism because of her gender and spoke out directly against the allegations made against her. She particularly fought the idea that she might have simply taken credit for poems actually written by a man. She also made a strong case in defense of women's talents and abilities, saying that it was not talent that they lacked, but rather the time and material support necessary to gain the same level of erudition and training as men. She carefully wrote that she did not allow writing to interfere with her work, but

that she only composed poems in her head as she did other work. She did not discuss whether she would cease writing at any point.

Schwarz likewise faced criticisms, but she characterized these as attacks on poetry itself that arose against her because of the envy of those without understanding, the *Unverständige*, rather than specifically attacks against her because of her gender. She does also make a strong argument in favor of women writing and allude to the history of female poets, thereby situating herself within that historical line. But she spent far more time in defense of poetry as a proper activity for all persons, one that led to and supported a life of virtue. She did relate this to her own activities, the proper work of a young woman, and also write that poetry did not interfere with her work but instead helped her to be more virtuous. In the case of Schwarz, we will never know if she would have continued writing after her marriage or in later life because she died before she could ever marry. She did however refer to the possibility that she may need to lay down the pen some day and wrote simply that she would know the proper time and would decide when she should cease writing. She continued to write until she was no longer physically able, writing a poem in celebration of her sister's wedding and another to be read at her own funeral only days before her death.

Zeidler did not discuss whether she would cease writing at some point, but her voice is silent after the publication of the 1686 collection of poems. She never reappears in the public record, other than indirectly as a mother. In 1708 it is reported that her husband remarries, and that he brought three children into the marriage. We must presume that she most likely died prior to this event, but there is no written record of this fact. There is no mention of her death in the available church records, no eulogies, no funerary sermons, and no letters. Like Riccoboni's *Abeille*, she ceases to write soon after she takes the name of her husband (Lanser 45), and after that she simply disappears.

Anna Carrdus notes the difficulties faced by scholars researching the lives and work of early modern female poets (Carrdus "Women's Writing" 869). Works by an individual author might be available only in manuscript or scattered throughout numerous funerary booklets. Because of women's secondary legal status, information about their lives might only be found by researching the lives of the men in that woman's life (Carrdus "Women's Writing" 870). This dissertation was made possible because Schwarz and Zeidler had the support of brothers, fathers and other male supporters. Samuel Gerlach spent time and presumably money to secure the posthumous publication of Schwarz's *oeuvre* in 1650. Zeidler's work was printed by her brother for a small audience on the occasion of her wedding, presumably intended to be shared with close friends and family. The simple fact that both women's collections were preserved in print facilitated their later discovery by scholars. Further, that a collection of poems was published for each gives scholars insight into the different genres appropriate to women and how they worked in a variety of forms and meters. This is in stark contrast to the work of many women poets, whose work might only be alluded to in catalogues or available as a single poem preserved in a funerary booklet.

A great deal of work remains for scholars studying women's contribution to the literary landscape of the seventeenth century. Work by female authors potentially remains to be discovered in the archives and particularly in the booklets printed for funerals. In depth studies of the lives and works of individual authors also remain to be done, particularly if more than one poem or song by a specific author can be found. A deeper understanding of a particular author's style might enable us to discover even more poems or works by that author. Margaretha Susanna von Kuntsch, for example, is known to have produced poems on commission on behalf of her husband and brother-in-law (Carrdus "Women's Writing" 889). Although not printed under her name, "Kuntsch's

authorship […] is apparent from a comparison between these poems and those in the collection published by her grandson in 1720" (Carrdus "Women's Writing" 889). Schwarz's collection likewise contains poems said to have been written in the name of others, so there may be other examples of her work published under the name of men in her family or of her acquaintance. Contributing poems on state and family occasions became more and more prevalent throughout the seventeenth and early eighteenth century, and professional poets often had to prepare poems in the name of those required by a sense of duty to contribute a poem, but unable to do so either because of a lack of talent or the pressures of time and work. It is not impossible that some poems were written by female poets but not attributed to them.

Anna Carrdus also notes the desirability of a diachronic examination of specific genres by female authors, or from particular points-of-view, such as texts by widows or single women or young mothers (Carrdus "Women's Writing" 896). Both Margaretha Susanna von Kuntsch and Sibylle Schwarz wrote poems concerning their own death, and there are likely others. Their work could be contrasted with similar contributions by male authors to the genre of *Sterbeliteratur* and the final act of memorializing one's own faith prior to death as part of wider studies on the art of "dying well" in the early modern period.

When I began this project, it was in an effort to discover what motivated Sibylle Schwarz and Susanne Elisabeth Zeidler and what enabled them to join the ranks of women writing in the early modern period. In many ways, their stories overlap and are in keeping with the commonplaces discovered by scholars of women's writing in the early modern period. Both women were supported by male members of the family, in both cases by their brothers. Both had access to education in the home. Although Schwarz's family was of a higher socio-economic class than Zeidler's, both were relatively well off

in comparison to their local community. Schwarz's family was well-connected in Greifswald and had a particularly close relationship with the local university. Zeidler was the daughter of a clergyman, and thus a member of a family more likely than others in Fienstedt to have a collection of books and to place an emphasis on literacy, even for the female children. Indeed, her younger sister Regina was not only literate in the German language, but also able to translate from the French language into German.

While not surprised by the similarities between Schwarz and Zeidler, I remained fascinated by the differences between them. In particular I was struck by how differently they situated themselves as poets. The particular time at which they were writing becomes more important when researching these differences. Both women were part of an increase in female authorship that arose from the vernacular literary reform started by Martin Opitz. Schwarz was writing at the very beginning of this movement, and Zeidler was writing at its height. Approximately 50 years separates the two, and this is perhaps one reason why Schwarz simply defines herself as a poet and expands the then-accepted definition of the learned poet to include women and thus herself. Zeidler, on the other hand, is very careful not to describe herself as a poet, but rather as a lover of poetry. She draws a strong distinction between herself and male poets, noting that she has not had the level of education necessary to be a true poet. She nonetheless skillfully argues for an equality of talent and potential among men and women, but notes that women are barred from the necessary education and therefore cannot attain to the same level of skill. Her argument demonstrates an awareness of the inequality created by institutions and traditions not in evidence in Schwarz. Schwarz likewise reacts to external criticism, but she characterizes it as arising more from envy and misunderstanding than from any inherent gender inequality. Although she speaks to the belief held by some that women cannot or should not write poetry, she dismisses those who hold that opinion as unworthy

and lacking in knowledge and understanding, and simply points to the historical tradition of women writers going back to Sappho to justify her claim.

While this research has answered many of the questions that arose for me concerning Schwarz and Zeidler, others remain to be explored. It is important that early modern scholars continue to identify works by women to give us a deeper understanding of the fullness of the seventeenth century literary landscape. In-depth studies of individual authors are still needed, but we also need to focus on studies of specific genres, and how those genres were approached by both men and women in this period. More work should be done to uncover the influences women might have had on each other. To what extent were women exposed to the catalogues of learned women published in the early modern period? Were they aware of themselves as part of a tradition? Did they draw inspiration from one another? This important work has begun with studies of the Ister-Nimphen in the literary circle in Nürnberg surrounding Sigmund von Birken and in the work done on the writers in Altenburg surrounding (and often related to) Margaretha Susanne von Kuntsch, but there are certainly others. In the case of Schwarz and Zeidler, were other members of their family inspired by their example? Can we find evidence of nieces, sisters, or daughters writing? The work by both Schwarz and Zeidler demonstrates the complexity of female relationships. Schwarz's text provides insight into her fraught relationship with Judith Tanck, one that leads to speculation about the true nature of their friendship, even the question of whether they relationship was reciprocal or simply one-sided. Zeidler demonstrates the importance of female friendship and female community in her relationship with two daughters of a neighboring pastor. It would be important to investigate if there is other evidence of women's friendship and the ways it was lived out in a literary context.

This brings us to perhaps the biggest unresolved issue: what is the relationship between literary text and biographical reality in the writings of these women? It is difficult to reconstruct biographies of seventeenth-century writers, because so much has been lost or was simply never recorded, and this is particularly true for women writers. A close reading of their texts gives us insight into the inner worlds of Schwarz and Zeidler, but the link between literary representation and historical reality has to remain tenuous at best. Any reading of their work must be guided by an understanding of the literary practices of the period and of the act of authorial representation that takes place, particularly in the early modern period. In spite of these difficulties, it is important to tease out such traces of their lives as may be found, should that be possible, because for most of the women writing in the seventeenth century we may, at most, have one or two of the texts they have written and nothing more.

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